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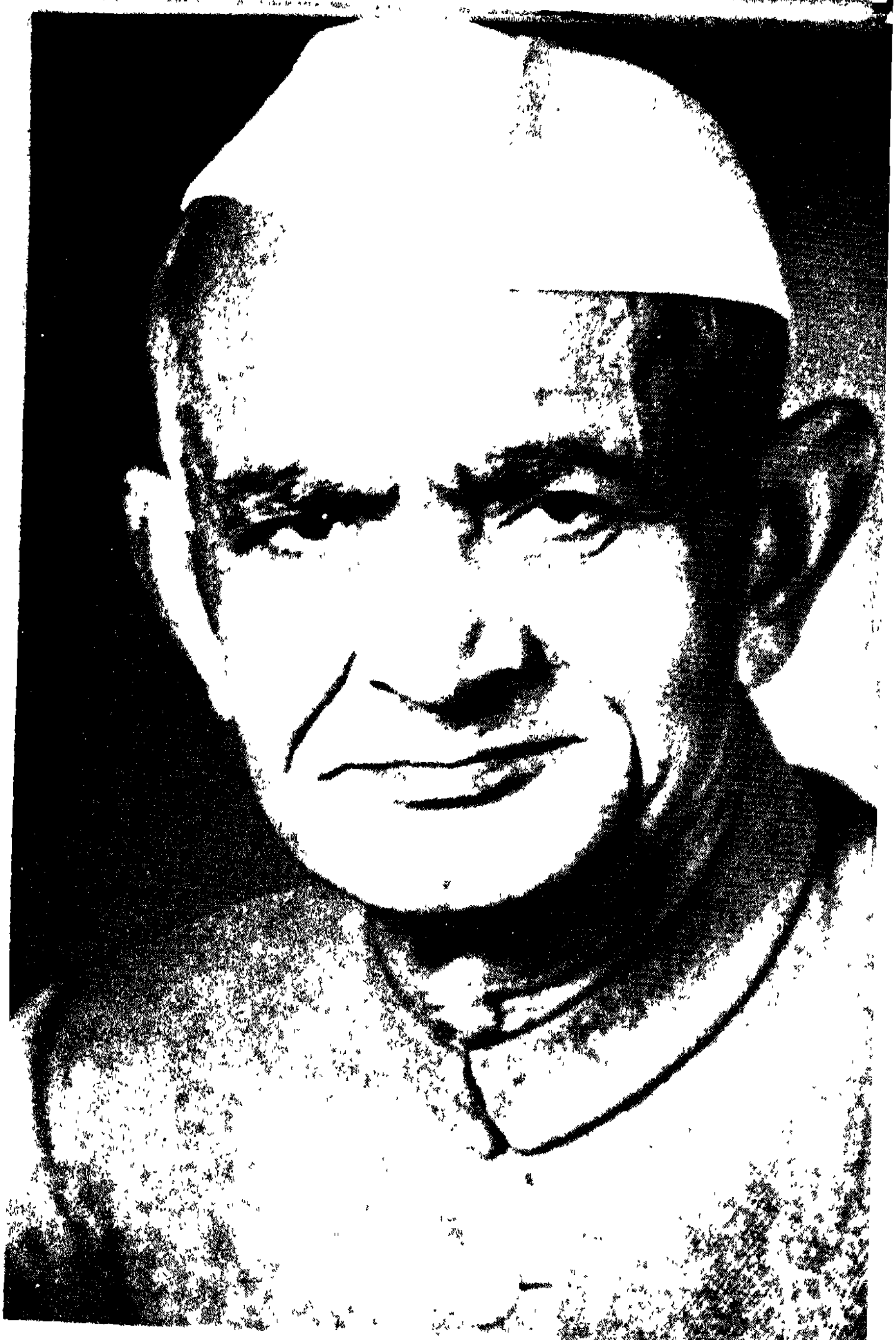
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Abid Husain Felicitation Volume



Abid Husain Felicitation Volume

Presented to Dr. Syed Abid Husain on his 78th Birthday

Edited by :
Malik Ram

Abid Husain Felicitation Committee
New Delhi

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Contents

The Man We honour Today

DR. ABID HUSAIN is one of the most eminent thinkers and writers of modern India. For the last 48 years he has laboured unceasingly in the field of learning and literature, and in the service of his country and its people. When he returned with Dr. Zakir Husain after completing his studies in Germany he, like Zakir Saheb, undertook to serve the Jamia Millia on a barely living wage even though the circumstances of a large family required his accepting a well-paid job elsewhere. The Jamia had been recently shifted at the time from Aligarh to Delhi and was lodged in a number of rented houses in Karolbagh which could hardly be regarded as suitable for an educational institution. The staff consisted of only a few dedicated people working on very meagre salaries, with no amenities or future prospects, and each of them had to perform all sorts of functions. Abid Saheb had to take classes, work as the Director of the Urdu Academy, translate books for the Maktaba, the publishing house of the Jamia, edit the *Jamia* magazine and *Payam-i-Ta'leem* and what was very distasteful for him, also perform the duties of the Registrar and the Treasurer, whenever called upon to do so. It was under these trying circumstances that Abid Saheb had to carry on his onerous duties year

after year. It is easy to make sacrifices for a short time on the wave of an emotional impulse, but to live in voluntary indigence cheerfully for something like 30 years as he did, along with some other colleagues, is a rare phenomenon and is worthy of the highest praise.

In those days Abid Saheb became famous for the excellence of his translations. These sometimes read even better than the original. If you were to read his translations of Gandhiji's *Experiments with Truth* and Jawaharlal's *Autobiography*, *Glimpses of World History* and *Discovery of India*, you would get the feeling as if they were all perhaps written originally in Urdu. The ease and facility with which he could translate into Urdu Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and Shaw's *St. Joan* from English, or Edward Spranger's *Psychology of Youth*, and Goethe's *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister* from German cannot fail to impress the reader with his mastery of these languages and the unique gift of translation. In all, his translations of English and German books dealing with Philosophy, Social Sciences, Literature, Biography, etc. amount to 22 in number.

Among his original writings numbering about 16, *National Culture of India*, *Way of Gandhi and Nehru* and *Destiny of Indian Muslims* (all in English as well as in Urdu) mark him out as a forceful writer, possessing originality, clarity of thought and ease and grace of style.

In the evening of life when most people take it easy, Abid Saheb undertook, some five years ago, the most significant, exacting and challenging task of his life by bringing into being and running with great success an organization by the name of 'Islam and the Modern Age Society'. It publishes two quarterly journals in English and Urdu which have won great acclaim and have for their readers as well as contributors people from all over the world. The society also holds occasional seminars on national and international scale dealing with the problems of modernisation and liberalization of Islam and other religious communities and endeavours to bring about inter-religious understanding.

Abid Saheb has been very fortunate in having as his wife Saleha Begum who inspires, helps and sustains him and can truly be called his 'alter ego'. She is a distinguished writer and broadcaster in her own right and is associated with several educational and social organisations. Between them they have, in spite of many difficulties, been of help and succour to many young boys and girls, shaped their lives and put them on their feet.

May they both have many more years of fruitful endeavour, and continue to make their rich contribution to India's life and thought!

BASHIR HUSAIN ZAIDI
Chairman :
Abid Husain Felicitation Committee

Abid Husain Felicitation Volume

MALIK RAM

Dr. Syed Abid Husain : The Man and the Writer

DR. SYED ABID HUSAIN is a descendant of the prophet Mohammad through the fourth Shi'a Imam Zain-ul-Abideen, the sole male survivor of the great tragedy of Karbala when his father Imam Husain was put to death. The first ancestor of Abid Husain to come to India from Tirmidh in the sixteenth century was Syed Hasan Bandagi. He was a devout Muslim and a great scholar well-versed in Muslim theology. He settled down in a small village in the vicinity of Kannauj which was later on called Da'ipur. With the passing of time his place of abode developed into a sort of religious resort (*khanqah*). Everyday people would flock to him either to seek religious knowledge or beg for his blessings.

It is said that one day when Syed Hasan was sitting surrounded by his friends and followers, there came an old woman. She had a grown up daughter of marriageable age whom, she said, she could not marry off for want of wherewithals. For this she needed a donation of Rs. 100. As ill-luck would have it, there was no ready cash that day in the coffers of the *khanqah* either, which could be offered to her. Consequently, Syed Hasan called upon those present if some

one could help her by advancing the required sum. None came forward to do so. Thereupon he said in a pique, "Is there some one who would like to acquire the throne of Hindustan for the paltry sum of Rs. 100 ?" By chance Farid Khan (who later became Sher Shah Suri) was amongst the audience along with his second son Jalal. Farid Khan had quarrelled with his patron in Bihar and had to flee the place for his life. In his wanderings he had come to Da'ipur to get the blessings of the saint. When he heard Syed Hasan Bandagi saying if someone would like to acquire the throne of Hindustan for Rs. 100, he instructed his son to make an offer of Rs. 200. At this Syed Hasan said :

> You are giving rupees two hundred, O son!
> For yourself and for your father as well.

It was after this that Farid Khan gathered round him a large force of Afghans. This encouraged him to revolt against Humayun, the ruling king of the Mughal dynasty. After a few minor skirmishes, Humayun was finally defeated in a decisive battle near Kannauj, whereupon he had to leave India and seek refuge at the court of Abbas, the king of Iran. In his absence Farid Khan taking the title of Sher Shah proclaimed himself the king of Hindustan. At his death in A.D. 1545, the Afghan grandees selected Jalal to succeed his father although he was the younger son and in ordinary circumstances his elder brother should have ascended the throne.

Sher Shah on coming to power gratefully honoured Syed Hasan Bandagi. A Jagir was bestowed upon him and his sons were taken into royal service.

Abid Husain is in direct line of descent from Bandagi. His great grandfather Syed Mehdi Ali was the Vakil of the erstwhile state of Samthar in Central India. His son Syed Mahdi Husain, grandfather of Abid Husain, was employed by the British Government and served as a Reader in the collectorate

at Basti (U.P. for a long time.

Abid Husain's father Syed Hamid Husain married into the family of Syed Muhammad Abid of Mohan (U.P.). Syed Muhammad Abid owned vast landed property and, looking at his income and influence, was a veritable Taluqdar.

Abid Husain was born on 25 July 1896 in Bhopal where his grandfather Syed Mahdi Husain was at the time in the service of the state government. His early years were spent with his mother either at Mohan or Lucknow. Although he did receive some instruction in Urdu and English privately this constant change of residence was not at all conducive to his making any progress in education. Seeing this unsatisfactory state of affairs, his grandfather, Syed Mahdi Husain, asked him to come to Bhopal. At the time Hamid Husain, i.e., Syed Abid Husain's father, was working as legal adviser to the Municipal Board, Bhopal. Through his influence, he got his son admitted to Class V in the local Jehangiria High School. Having thus settled down Abid Husain pursued his studies with diligence and assiduity. In 1916, he passed his Matriculation from the Allahabad University. Out of 5,000 candidates, only 1,700 had passed that year and of these only seven succeeded in securing first division. Abid Husain was one of them.

Abid Husain now got admitted to the Intermediate class of the Muir Central College, Allahabad, with Mathematics and Science as his subjects of study. Two years later, he could, however, secure only a second division in his final examination. In fact, he had no liking either for Algebra and Geometry or Science. Dissatisfied with the result, he elected to take the Arts course for his B.A., with Philosophy, Persian and English as subjects. In 1920, he graduated in the first division and was awarded several scholarships from the university as well as the state of Bhopal. Thereafter, he joined the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, to study for his M.A. (Phil.) degree.

This is the time when the national movement had taken

a new turn after the unfortunate happenings particularly at Jalianwala Bagh, Amritsar (Panjab). The whole country was in the throes of the non-cooperation movement. Abid Husain had joined M.A O. College but there was very little teaching done as political leaders were constantly coming to the College exhorting the students to boycott their classes. Abid Husain who was of a studious nature did not like to waste his time and, therefore, decided to go back to his old university for studies. The political climate in Allahabad was, however, no better either. The Muslim Hostel where he was staying at the time declared *hartal* and Abid Husain had to quit Allahabad as well

As it was no longer feasible to study either at Allahabad or Aligarh, he decided to proceed to Oxford for higher studies. Unfortunately all his efforts to obtain a scholarship from the Bhopal Government for this ambitious venture did not succeed At this time a cousin of his father was fighting a legal battle to obtain possession of a large part of his inheritance and the case was pending before the Privy Council in appeal. When he heard of Abid Husain's predicament, he advised him to raise funds somehow for the journey and a few months' stay in England He promised that as soon as the case was decided in his favour—and of this he was absolutely certain—he would gladly come to his help and meet his educational expenses thereafter. At this Abid Husain approached the Bhopal Government for a loan. This was granted on the condition that on return to India after the completion of his studies abroad, he would serve the State for a minimum period of three years.

On reaching England in September 1921, he got admitted to History (Hons.) course at the Oxford University. He worked so assiduously that he completed his curriculum in six months instead of the one year it took ordinarily. Now, however, began the period of his financial stringency. The relative on whose assurance Abid Husain had come to England had succeeded in his litigation as was expected, but unfortu-

nately he forgot his promise and failed to send him any money. On the other hand whatever he had with him was already nearly spent and he did not know how he was going to maintain himself further at Oxford. It was in these circumstances that in April 1922 he decided to proceed to Berlin. He proposed to study at both Oxford and Berlin, making Berlin his permanent residence and going to Oxford only when the term required his presence there. He had been prompted to take this decision on account of the drastic fall in the price of the Deutsche mark in the wake of the First World War when Germany had been defeated by the allied armies. Prices of all commodities were consequently very low in Berlin. He thought he could make the small amount still left with him last longer. But he soon discovered that travelling in two boats at the same time was not a practical proposition. His occasional trips to England and making arrangements for his temporary stay there proved too costly which, with the meagre funds at his disposal, he could ill afford. Thereupon he gave up his Oxford course and joined the Ph.D. course of the Berlin University.

He studied at the Berlin University from April 1922 to December 1925 at the end of which he got his degree of the Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) graded 'Very Good'. The subject of his thesis was: 'Educational Theory of Herbert Spencer, in the Light of His General Philosophy'.

During his stay in Berlin, M. Mujeeb and Zakir Husain also arrived there for their studies. The three of them began living together with a view to economising on expenditure. It was about this time that General Mohd. Obaidullah Khan, a prince of the Bhopal ruling family, expired and the State decided to institute a scholarship in his memory. Hamid Husain was successful in getting this scholarship awarded to his son. Syed Abid Husain was thus enabled to live a little more comfortably thereafter.

About a year before the completion of his studies, in January 1925, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M.A. Ansari

visited Europe. Zakir Husain went to Paris to meet them. Hakim Ajmal Khan informed Zakir Husain that Jamia Millia Islamia, founded at Aligarh during the Non-Cooperation Movement in response to Gandhiji's call, had run into financial difficulties and there was every fear that it might have to be closed down. On the other hand Hakim Ajmal Khan wanted the Jamia Millia Islamia to be shifted from Aligarh to Delhi where he resided, so that he could personally supervise its affairs more effectively. Later on when Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M A. Ansari visited Vienna, the three friends—Abid Husain, Mujeeb and Zakir Husain—called upon them and pledging their full support to the Jamia Millia Islamia requested that it should not be closed down. They also sent a cable to the acting Chancellor of Jamia Millia Islamia making a formal offer to this effect.

The three friends travelled back to India by the same boat which brought them to Colombo from where they travelled overland to Delhi and joined the service of the Jamia Millia Islamia. A salary of Rs 300 p m. was fixed for each of them. Hakim Ajmal Khan was responsible for the collection of sufficient funds to run the Institution He would collect donations from whomsoever he could get anything and make up the balance from his own pocket Unfortunately he failed to collect sufficient funds from his friends and mentioned to Abid Husain and others about the straitened financial condition of the Jamia Millia Islamia. The three voluntarily agreed to a cut of Rs 100 in their monthly salary of Rs. 300 initially fixed. This arrangement too did not last long. Hakim Ajmal Khan suddenly died of heart attack in December 1927 and was succeeded by Dr. M.A. Ansari, as Chancellor of Jamia Millia Islamia Many of the trustees were strongly of the opinion that as it was difficult to collect funds for running the Institution it should be closed down At this Dr. Zakir Husain went to Gandhiji and after consultations with him announced that not only Jamia Millia Islamia would not be closed down but they were deter-

mined to reorganise and bring it in line with the national requirements and aspirations. A National Educational Society consisting of the members of the staff and some sympathisers from outside was founded. Every member pledged that he would serve the Jamia Millia Islamia for 23 years and never demand more than Rs. 150 p.m. as salary. In practice the salaries were fixed thus : Dr. Zakir Husain, Rs. 75 p.m. and Prof. M Mujeeb and Dr. Abid Husain, Rs. 100 p.m. each.

During his association with the Jamia Millia Islamia Dr. Abid Husain has been teacher of Philosophy, of Urdu, Principal of the Jamia College, etc. On completion of thirty years of service and attaining the age of sixty he retired in 1956 The following year in 1957 he joined the Aligarh Muslim University as Director of its newly established Department of General Education. He retired from there in 1960. During this assignment he compiled a number of books for general reading for students From 1960 to 1967, he acted as Literary Adviser to the All India Radio.

In 1967, in consultation with the late Dr. Zakir Husain he began working on a project to establish 'Islam and the Modern Age Society'. Its object was to reinterpret Islam and prove its relevance to the scientific and technological discoveries of the 20th century. This required a good deal of spade work in India and abroad In the summer of 1967 he travelled extensively in Europe, America and the Far East to establish personal contacts and exchange views with scholars, writers and theologians, particularly those interested in Islam. On his return, the Society which had been formerly registered before his tour abroad began functioning in right earnest. In 1969 the Urdu quarterly of the Society started publication under his editorship, the following year, i.e., in 1970, the English quarterly of the Society also came out. At present he devotes his whole time to the service of the Society and the editing of the two journals.

Dr. Abid Husain was still a student at Allahabad when

he started contributing to his college magazine. At the same time he brought out the *Muslim Hostel Magazine* in Urdu which continued for two years. Three issues were published during the year and it contained articles written by himself and some of his friends. When he joined the M.A. (Philosophy) course of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, he began writing in the *Aligarh Monthly*, the official organ of the College.

When he went to England he founded a 'Hindustan Association' at Oxford. The object was to provide a Forum to the Indian students where papers could be read on any literary or scientific theme followed by discussion. In one of the gatherings of the Association Dr. Abid Husain had read a paper entitled "Islam in Spain".

During his stoy in Berlin he was greatly attracted by the writings of the famous German author Feure Bach and his theory of materialism so much so that he started translating his *History of Philosophy* into Urdu. Contrary to the tradition and background of his family he began losing faith in religion and was on the verge of forsaking it entirely. Luckily, he was saved from this pitfall by his subsequent association with Prof Spranger, his teacher in Philosophy. Prof. Spranger, besides being a great scholar, was an intensely devout and religious man. Syed Abid Husain who was a pet student of Spranger could not escape the influence of such a spiritual soul

It was at Berlin that Abid Husain came in contact with Shahid Suhrwardy, the well-known revolutionary *littèrateur*. Suhrwardy was in Moscow at the time the famous October Revolution broke out He had personal contacts with most of the Russian revolutionary and literary figures. He was greatly interested in theatre and had directed and produced plays of no mean order. In his company Dr. Abid Husain also began taking keen interest in the theatre. It was at his instance that Abid Husain wrote his play, *Parda-i Ghaflat*, which was published at the time by the famous Kaviani

Press of Berlin. This is the first full length original book by Abid Husain; previous to this he had only translated some articles for the press or contributed a few pieces to various journals. He also started translation of De Boer's *History of Islamic Philosophy*. The translation was completed after his return to India in 1926.

His forte is Philosophy and Education. In addition, he is greatly interested in didactic and moral issues. All his writings, be they translations or original works, can be brought under these categories. Urdu language is quite rich so far as books on spiritual or religious teachings are concerned. The same cannot be said for Philosophy, Morals or Education. Dr. Abid Husain realised the position very early and applied himself to fill as far as possible this lacuna. During the past 50 years he has enriched Urdu with a large number of translations from English and German. His translations have the spontaneity, beauty and diction of the original One never comes across an involved sentence or phrase which needs further explanation or elaboration. In his translations he had per force to coin new words and phrases which did not exist before him. From the Appendix at the end of this article it will be seen that side by side with Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Zakir Husain, names of such literary giants as Plato, Spranger, Goethe, De Boer and others stand out. The writings of these European authors deal with subjects which are difficult to translate and not easy to follow. It goes to the credit of Dr Abid Husain that his translations never contain a difficult passage which one often comes across even in the original. This is due to the fact that he has himself mastered the subject and what is more, has got complete command over the two languages, the one from which he is translating and Urdu. As a matter of fact, in the field of translation, he stands head and shoulders above other translators in Urdu.

He was closely associated with some of the front rank leaders of our national movement. Before and after the Inde-

pendence, it was necessary to place before the world our point of view, to offset the virulent propaganda carried on by vested interests both in India and the foreign countries. It was easier therefore for him to interpret the Indian thought which he took upon himself to do. Many of his books in English were written with that end in view. In fact some of them are till this day the only source of information in English In this he has placed the whole country under a great debt of gratitude.

For the last many years he has been the guiding spirit of the 'Islam and the Modern Age Society' and the editor of its two official organs, *Islam and the Modern Age* (English) and *Islam-o-'asr-i Jadid* (Urdu). In barely three to four years both these journals have won for themselves an honoured place amongst the leading periodicals of the world, both for their content and the standard of production

At 77, he is still at his desk for about ten hours a day and is rightly the envy of much younger people.

In recognition of his literary services the Sahitya Akademi bestowed upon him its Urdu Award in 1956 to his work *Qaumi Tehzib ka Mas'ala* (The Problem of Indian Culture). The following year, i.e., in 1957, he was given the much-coveted title of Padma Bhushan. Early this year the Delhi State conferred upon him the Saraswati Award for his outstanding contribution to literature

APPENDIX

1. Original Works

1. *Parda-i Ghaflat* (Play). Berlin, 1925; Allahabad, 1925.
2. *Musalmanon ki Ta'leem aur Jamia Millia*. Delhi, 1928.
3. *Hindustani Qaumiyyat aur Qaumi Tahzeeb* (3 Vols.). Delhi, 1946.
4. *Mazamin-i 'Abid*. Delhi, 1947.
5. *Shareer Larka* (Play). Delhi, 1950.

6. *Bazm-i Be-Takalluf* (A collection of humorous essays). Delhi.
7. *Qaumi Tehzib ka Mas'ala* (Sahitya Akademi Award Winning Book). Aligarh, 1955.
8. *National Culture of India.* Bombay, 1956.
9. *Way of Gandhi and Nehru.* Bombay, 1959.
10. *What is General Education*? Bombay, 1959.
11. *Compulsory Education in India* (in collaboration with J.P. Naik and K.G. Saiyidain). UNESCO, 1952.
12. *Teaching of Mother Tongue in India.* UNESCO (in print).
13. *Hindi as the National Language of India.* UNESCO (in print).
14. *Indian Culture* (Aligarh Muslim University General Education Reading Material Project). Bombay, 1963
15. *Gandhi and Communal Unity.*
16. *Destiny of Indian Muslims.* Bombay, 1965.
17. *Hindustani Musalman Aieena-i Ayyam men.* Delhi, 1965.
18. *Musalman aur 'Asri Masael.* Delhi, 1972.

2. Translations

19. *Tarikh-i Falsafa-i Islam.* Tr. from German of *Geschichte der Philosophy in Islam* by De Boer. Delhi, 1927, 1934, 1972.
20. *Nafsiyat-i 'Unfawan-i Shabab.* Tr. from German of *Psychologie des Jugendaters by Eduard Spranger.* Delhi, 1924.
21. *Saint Joan.* Tr. from English of G.B. Shaw's St. Joan. Allahabad.
22. *Qaum ki Awaz.* Tr. from English of *M. K. Gandhi Jals: Nation's Voice* by Pyare Lal. Delhi, 1930.
23. *Faust.* Tr. from German of Goethe's *Faust.* Aurangabad, 1931.
24. *Mabadee-i 'Imraniyat.* Tr. from German of *Sociology* by Blackmark. Hyderabad, 1932.

25. *Zabt-i Nafs aur Nafs Parasti*. Tr. from English of *Self Control Vs. Self Indulgence* by M.K. Gandhi
26. *Turkee men Mashriq-o-Aghrib ki Kashmakash*. Tr. from German of *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* by Khalida Adib Khanan Delhi, 1935.
27. *Standard English-Urdu Dictionary* (in collaboration with Maulana Abdul Haq). Aurangabad, 1937.
28. *Tanqid-i 'Aql-i Mahz*. Tr. from German of *Kritik der Reinen Vernuft* by Kant. Aurangabad, 1941.
29. *Mukalamat-i Aflatoon*. Tr from English of Plato's *Dialogues*. Aurangabad, 1942.
30. *'Ilm-ul Aqwam*. Tr. from German of *Indische Ethnologie* by Baron Ehrenfels. 2 Vols. Aurangabad, 1941.
31. *Tarikh-i Dakan*. Tr. from English of *Ancient Deccan* by Iyengar. Hyderabad.
32. *Jag Beeti*. Tr. from English of *Glimpses into World History* by Jawaharlal Nehru.
33. *Talash-i Hind*. Tr. from English of *Discovery of India* by Jawaharlal Nehru Delhi, 1946.
34. *Talash-i Haq*. Tr. from English of *My Experiments with Truth* by M K. Gandhi. 2 Vols. Delhi, 1946, 1968.
35. *Meri Kahani* Tr from English of *An Autobiography* by Jawaharlal Nehru. Delhi, 1946.
36. *Wilhaim Maestar*. Tr. from German of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*. Delhi, 1959.
37. *Hindustan men Ta'leem ki Az Sar-i Nau Tanzeem*. Tr. from English of *Reconstruction of Indian Education* by Zakir Husain Delhi, 1962.
38. *Kalmoohi*. Tr. of *Chokher Bali* by Rabindranath Tagore. Delhi, 1963.
39. *Hamara Sha'ir* Tr. from English of *Our Poet*, a biography of Rabindranath Tagore by Smt. Lila Majumdar. Delhi, 1966
40. *Sab Insan Bhai Bhai Hain*. Tr. from English of *All Men are Brothers*, select writings of M.K Gandhi, ed. by K.R. Kripalani. Delhi, 1966.

3. Compilations

41. *Commemoration Volume*, presented to Dr. K.G. Saiyidain (Jt. Ed.: Abdur Rashid). Delhi, 1964.
42. *Yad-i 'Aziz*. Delhi. 1964.

SIR GODFREY R. DRIVER

King by Divine Adoption

THE Psalm here discussed, Psalm II in the Hebrew Psalter, is one of the best known in that collection, not only for its place in Jewish thought but for the use made of it by the Christian church; but both have had unfortunate consequences for the interpretation of the text, which has often been explained not in the light of contemporary Hebrew history but by reading back into it ideas which cannot possibly have been in the mind of the original poet. It also contains one or two passages in which the text is open to suspicion and several of which the sense is by no means clear.

A few notes on the text, therefore, may precede the attempt to translate it.

In v. 1 the precise force of *rāg^{e}su* 'they rage' (R. V.) or 'tumultuously assemble' (R. V., marg.) is disputed; thus the Versions have various renderings, e.g., 'they roared' (LXX, after the Arabic sense of the root, cp. Vulg.) or 'were in uproar' (Aq.) or 'disquieted, stirred up' (Symm.) or 'disturbed' (Jer. *ad Hebr.*). The meanings which the $\sqrt{rgs}$ has in the Semitic languages are : in Aramaic 'was troubled, shaken, trembled, moaned, felt' and in Syriac 'roared, was tumultuous; stirred up; perceived'; in post-Biblical Hebrew trans. 'stirred up a crowd; excited' and intrans. 'came in crowds'; in Arabic

(*a*) 'groaned, roared; rumbled' and (*i*) 'committed a punishable offence' and in Ethiopic, pass. 'was convulsed (with pain)'. The Hebr. *reges* 'confusion' (Ps. 55:13) and *rigsāh* 'turbulent company' (Ps. 64:3, where it is parallel with *sôd* 'society') reflect the same group of ideas. The semantic development is then the following : 'roared, rumbled; was clamorous, thronging; was astir, alert; perceived'. Something of the last notions may be detected also in the use of the Aram. *hargés* 'was alert, watched for an opportunity (to do something)' as used of the courtiers who 'watched for a chance' (LXX, Theod.) to approach Darius (Dan. 6:7, 12, 16); for the notion that 'they came tumultuously' (R. V., marg.) into the king's presence presupposes highly improper conduct on the part of Oriental courtiers approaching a king. In the passage under discussion, then, the sense is that the kings were astir in noisy conference preparing their plans.[1]

In v. 2 *nôsᵉdû* 'they conspire' comes from a $\sqrt{ysd}$ – $\sqrt{\overline{swd}}$ as seen again in *bᵉhiwwāsᵉdām* 'in their conspiring together' (Ps. 31 : 14)[2], while the original form of the noun, namely *sôd* 'council' (cp. Syr. *swādu* 'confidential speech'), is reflected in *histayyed* (cp. Syr. *'estawad*) 'held converse with' a person (J. b. Sir. 42 : 12).[3]

In v. 3 the insertion of *le'mor* (saying) before the direct oration (Graetz) is needless; for it is often omitted from such positions (e.g , Pss. 41 : 5, 105 : 15; cp. 10 : 4, 27 : 8).

In v. 5 'the current translations of the two verbs, namely *yᵉdabber 'elemô* 'he shall speak unto them' (R. V.) and *yᵉbahalemô* '(he shall) vex them' (R. V.) or 'trouble them'

1. Cp Wisdom of Jesus b. Sirach 16 . 18, where *bigsw* seems to be an error for *yigsw* 'they are thrown into confusion together' (Zorell cp. LXX's 'they are shaken' and Vulg.'s *commoventur*) The verb is also used of stormy waves ('Thanksgiving Hymns' ii 12)
2 Barth *ap.* Brockelmann, *Vergleich. Gramm d Sem. Spr* , I 275
3 The suggestion to emend *nosᵉdu* into *nāsodu* (Driver in 'Journ of Theol. Stud ' **XLIII** 150) is otiose.

(R. V., marg.) are weak and not strictly parallel.

The Acc. *dabru* 'aggressive', as for example in *dabrat sapṣī* 'she who storms at the disobedient' by which the goddess Ba'u is described[1] and the Arab. *dabbara 'alā* 'he sought to punish' (Dozy) suggest something like 'he sternly rebuked them'. None of the Versions depart from the meaning given in the R. V. : but a similarly strong sense may be suspected elsewhere in *dibber bᵉ-* 'spoke against, reviled' (e. g., Pss. 50 : 70 ; 78 : 19), especially in 'the people spoke against God and against Moses' (Numb. 21 : 5, where the LXX have 'they railed', the Pesh. 'they complained' and the Targ. 'they stormed').

The second verb is the Hebr. *bihel* 'dismayed', as it often means in the O. T., while the derived *behālāh* 'dismay, sudden terror' once at any rate may mean 'curse, execration', as the LXX render it (Is. 65 : 23). Its origin has been sought in an onomatopoeic **bah* (cp. Arab. *bah* 'bravo!') reinforced by a sonant *l* ; and this well agrees with some of the cognate verbs in the Semitic languages.[2] Those are the Acc. *balû* 'to supplicate', the Aram. *bahel* 'alarmed, disturbed' and Syr. *bhel* 'was quiet , ceased, desisted', the Arab. *bahala* 'cursed, execrated' (especially when God is the subject) *bahila* 'was dumbfounded' *ibtahala* 'besought' and Eth. *behla* 'accosted, called, summoned'. Thus the development of the meanings carried by the √*bhl* seems to be : 'besought, commanded ; threatened, cursed ; alarmed, hastened[3], dismayed, terrified ; dumbfounded;

1 Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte religiosen Inhalts*, I 109 rev. 9

2 Cp. mediaeval Lat. *baulare* 'to bark' and Engl. 'bawled' (s. Schultens *Animadvers. Phil.* 247-50, Delitzsch *Jesaia* [1889] 623, Christian in *Festschr. von Karabacek* 132, Driver in 'Journ. of Theol. Stud.' XLIV 18, Kutscher in *Tarbiz* XXXIII 122-3 and Blau in *Vet. Test.* V 339.

3 Cp. Egypt *bh*; I 'fled' II 'hurried' (Calice, *Grundlag. d. Äg.-Sem. Wortvergleich.* 61/182) and Arab. *wahila* 'was afraid' (Palache, 'Semantic Notes', 12-13).

desisted'. This last sense may be recognized also in *kālah wᵉniblālāh* 'an end and a cessation' (Zeph. 1 : 18 ; cp. Pesh.'s *sûfāna* and Targ.'s *sesᵉya* 'end, destruction').

In v. 6 *nasakti malki* 'I have set up my king' in Zion *har qodsi* 'my holy mountain' (R. V. with Jer. *ad Hebr.*, Pesh. and Targ.) is commonly corrected to *nissakti malkô* 'I have been set up as his king' in Zion *har qodšû* 'his holy mountain' (Houbigant with LXX, Vulg., Jer. *Psalt. Rom.* and Vulg.), whereby the Psalmist speaking in the name of the king becomes the subject.

In v. 7 *'el* 'unto' is unexampled as introducing the direct object of *sipper* 'declared', as it is indeed of any verb ; and 'he said unto me' in the following clause seems to be rhythmically defective. The simplest remedy is perhaps to read *'asappᵉrāh hoq 'el* or *'elôhāy* 'I will declare God's' or 'my God's decree' (Schmidt with Aq., Theod , Jer. *ad Hebr*) and then *Yhwh 'āmar* 'the LORD has said' (Wutz with *Jer. ad Hebr.* and *Psalt. Rom.*). This *ḥoq* 'statute' will have represented the *bᵉrit* 'covenant' setting forth the terms of the king's election (I Sam. 10 . 25), issued in the form of an *'edût* 'protocol, warrant' (II Ki. 11 : 12 and II Chron. 23: 11), duly recorded in a formal *sefer* 'document' (Ps 89 : 40), in which 'the manner of the kingdom' is laid down (I Sam. 10 · 25), and given to him at his coronation ; it thus corresponds to the Eg. *nhb.t* 'protocol' whereby the god adopted a new king in Egypt. gave him a 'throne-name' and conferred a royal commission on him.[1]

In the same verse *'elay* 'unto me' has rather the sense of *'ālay* 'about me', as often elsewhere [2]

The key-phrase of the Psalm, namely 'Thou art my son',

1. Cp. Von Rad,'*Gesammelte Studien* 205 13, Fairman in Hooke, 'Myth Ritual and Kingship' 78-80 and also Widengren, *Sakrales Konigtum* 29, 94 (where the '*edut* is identified with the two tablets of the Law)
2 Kirkpatrick, 'Psalms' I 7.5, s Brown, Driver & Briggs, 'Hebr. Lex ', 41

is a formula of adoption which is very common in Babylonian texts dealing with adoption; so, for example, a father adopts the sons born to him by a slave-girl by declaring '(You are) my sons (*mārūa*)'[1]; somewhat similarly Assyrian tablets of adoption contain a clause declaring that 'A is his father and B is his mother' or 'A is her mother, B is her daugther.'[2]

Traces of such a declaration may be found in the O.T. when Jacob says to Joseph 'now thy two sons are mine' (Gen. 48 : 5) and by the statement, when Moses was adopted by the Egyptian princess, that 'he became her son' (Exod. 2 : 10). Most important of all in the present connection is it that similar *sollemnia verba* are used when God adopts or recognizes David on his accession by announcing 'I will be his father and he shall be my son' (II Sam. 7 : 4) and Solomon by declaring that 'I have chosen him to be a son to me, and I will be his father' (I Chron. 28 : 6); and this procedure is reflected by the Psalmist who says 'he (*sc.* David) shall declare unto me, Thou art may father; and I in turn will make him my first-born' (Ps 89 : 26-7).

Similarly a Babylonian husband may say to his wife when putting her away 'thou art not my wife (*ûl assatī atti*)' and a wife may say to her husband 'thou art not my husband (*ûl mutī atta*)'[3], and these *sollemnia verba* are echoed in the Old Testament in the prophet's 'she is not my wife, and I am not her husband' (Hos. 2 : 4; cp. 1 : 8).

Such *formulae* may then be regarded as well known throughout the whole Middle-Eastern world which is the background to the Old Testament and may therefore be reasonably expected to find a place in it. Formal adoption,

1 Code of Hammu-rabi 170 , 43-5, cp. 171 60-3, cp Schorr, *Urk. d. altbab. Zivil-u. Prozessrechts* 16-42

2 Ebeling, *Assyr.*, *Rechtsurk.* 2 7, 4 . 5-7, 5 . 6-7

3. Schorr, *op cit* , 4 : 6-16, 5 : 20-38; s. Driver & Miles, 'Bab Laws', I 291-2.

however, must have been rare in ancient Israel, inasmuch as the levirate will have provided for the failure of natural heirs, even though informal adoption may well have often taken place. Apart from those already mentioned, however, only two other instances are recorded, those of Rachel bidding Jacob have intercourse with her maid Bilhah 'that she may bear upon my knees', i.e., acknowledge or adopt as her own any child thus born (30 : 3)[1], and of Esther after her parents' death when 'Mordecai took her for his own daughter' (Esth. 2 : 7).[2]

The principal problem in this Psalm is the precise force of *'ani hayyôm yᵉlidtikā* 'this day have I begotten thee' (R.V.) which, as thus literally rendered, makes no sense. One can legitimately say to an adult 'I have begotten thee' or rather 'I begot thee', but the addition of 'this day' makes nonsense of the proposition. Yet all the ancient translators take the phrase in this, its literal, sense. Such a literal translation might well be expected from the Septuagint who were familiar with the Egyptian doctrine that the Pharaoh was literally the son of a god, for example that he was the son of Re or Amon 'from his body'[3], and the same claim was made for a queen.[4] The Sumerians and Baylonians held a similar doctrine. For example, Gudea king of Lagash addressed *AMA-NI (DINGIR) NINA* 'his mother the goddess Nina'[5], Hammu-rabi king of Babylon dedicated a sanctuary *ana (il)Marduk ili bānisu* 'to Marduk the god who created him'

1. So Lat. *genuinus* 'born on the knees' *sc.* of the father and so acknowledged by him as his own, i e., as a 'genuine', son
2. Cp Gen 16 2, where Sarah hopes that 'she may obtain sons by her (*sc.* Hagar)' for Abraham, and Jud 11 · 1-2 where Jephthah, the son of a harlot, seems to have been designated his father Gilead's heir; s Feigin in 'Journ. of Bibl. Lit.' I [1931] 1881.
3. Frman, *Agypten* (ed. Ranke, 1923) 59-62, 467-8 and *Religion d Agypter* [1934] 52, 56
4. Edwards, 'Pyramids of Egypt' [1961] 136-7
5. Barton, 'Royal Inscriptions', 208-9 15 A v 11 and 248-9 xiii 7

and his successor Samsuiluna erected a building *ana* (*ilat*)-*Nin* [*harsag*] *ummi bānītiya* 'to (the goddess) Nin[harsag] the mother who created me'.[1] Further, the supreme god Marduk was said to have created man of the blood of a rebellious godling for the worship of the gods[2]; and so the Babylonian king could be described as *sir ilāni* 'the flesh of the gods'.[3] So crude a doctrine, however, came in course of time to be watered down; thus the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal refrained from calling himself the son of this or that deity but was content to claim that he had been suckled by the goddess Ishtar[4], i.e., that he regarded himself as in some sense dependent on her favour. This, even if such expressions were originally taken in their literal sense, may well have become the interpretation put on them in course of time.[5]

A number of personal names, both Accadian, Hebrew and Phoenician, confirm the impression that the relationship with the deity is not always to be regarded as conceived in a literal sense. Such, with their meanings, are the Acc. *Abi-ilum* 'my father is god' alternating with *Abum-kima-ilim* 'father is like god, *Ahī-ilu* 'my brother is god' alternating with *Ilī-ki-ah* 'my god is like a brother, and even *Mutī-ilm* 'my husband is god'[6], with which such names as *'Elī'āb* 'my god is father', *'Abiyāhû* 'my father is the LORD' and *'Aḥiyāhû* 'my brother is the LORD' are parallel. What is noticeable, however, is that names like the Phoen. *m'-'smn* 'mother of (the god) Eshmun' and *Bt-b'l* 'daughter of Baal' are not found in the Old Testament; and these last cannot be explained away as the Accadian and Hebrew names listed

1. Jensen in Schrader's *Keilinschr.* Biblioth., III i 127-4 I ii h 12-15 and Winckler, *op cit.*, 130-3 ii 14-20.
2. Labat, *Poeme Babylonien de la Creation*, 142-7 vi 5-34.
3. Lambert, 'Babylonian Wisdom Literature', p. 32, I 55.
4. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, I 348-9 ii rev. 6-8
5. Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, I 212
6. Stamm, *Akkad. Namengeb.*, 297-301.

above can be.[1] So a Hebrew prophet could speak of God as *'ābinû* 'our father' and *go'alenû* 'our kinsman' (Is. 63 : 16; cp. Aq. and Sa'ad.)[2], another could say 'he too shall be akin (*nis'ar*) to our God and become as a clansman (*'allūf*) in Judah' (Zech. 9 : 7, cp. Jer. 3 : 4)[3], with which the Assyrian expression quoted above may be compared; and the LORD is once described as the 'clansman (*paḥad*) of Isaac', if this is the true explanation of the phrase (Gen. 31 : 42, 53).[4] The insertion of *ki(ma)* 'like' in some of the Accadian names and the varieties of kinship, such as 'father' or 'brother' or 'husband' as well as such general terms as 'clansman' and 'kinsman' in the Hebrew names, prove, whatever may be said of some of the Phoenician names, that they ought not to be taken in the literal sense but merely as indicating the dependence of the persons so named on divine assistance.

An interesting point in the present connection is that no Hebrew names compounded of *ben* 'son' or *bat* 'daughter' followed by that of God, like the Aram *Benhadad* 'son of Adad' (I Ki. 15 18, 20), the Edom. *Bar-qôs* 'son of Qos' (Ezr. 2 53, Neh. 7 55) and the Phoen. *Bt-b'l* 'daughter of Baal', are found in the Old Testament, although *B'nāyāhû* 'the LORD has created' and *Yibn'yāh* 'the LORD creates' do occur there, but *bānāh* 'created' was a general term which can in such a connection have given no offence; for it appears also in such a place-name as *Yabn''el* 'God created'. These facts suggest that, although most of the Semites may originally have held that men are of one stock with their gods and the notion that the kinship of the deity with his or her people is specified as fatherhood or occasionally as motherhood and

1. R. Smith, 'Religion of the Semites', [1894] 452.
2. So rather than 'redeemer' (R.V. with LXX and Vulg, Pesh and Targ) in view of the parallelism.
3. Driver in *Vet Test* Suppl. XVI 63-4
4. Arendonk *ap* Pederson *Der Eid bei den Semiten* [1914]151,s Allright, 'Stone Age' [1941] 188-9, 327.

so on may have lingered on into historical times in many of the Semitic races, the ancient Hebrews must at a very early age have developed an aversion to asserting directly that a person may have been the son or daughter of God.[1]

Although then the Septuagint translate the verb in this passage in its literal sense, possibly under Egyptian influence, they cannot have so understood it; for any such literalism could only have been repulsive to ancient Hebrew thought. They would rather have thought of it as a moral relationship, interpreting it in the same way as 'Israel is my son, my first-born' (Exod. 4 : 22; cp. Jer. 31 . 9) and 'is not He thy father that hath fashioned thee. He that made thee and established thee?' (Deut. 32 : 6; cp 32 . 18): but the poet's addition of 'thou art my son' shows that he regarded this relationship as analogous to that between a father and an adopted son. That adoption was extremely rare in Israel would easily explain how the ancient translators vocalized the verb as *y'lidtikā* 'I have begotten thee', and Christian translators of the Old Testament had an additional reason for clinging to such a translation of the verb, namely, that the Church was already invoking and could thereby be justified in continuing to invoke it as foretelling the birth of Christ. Contrariwise, any reference to physical birth is avoided in the Targum's paraphrase, namely, 'thou art pure as if I had created thee (*b'ratāk*) to-day'; for *b'ra* 'created' is of general, not particular, application unlike *y'led* 'bear, begot', which is properly applicable to the physical side of nature.

So a late Jewish midrash explains 'thou art my son' as meaning 'thou art like a son to me'.[2] Similarly the Jewish commentator David Qimhi (*c.* A.D. 1160-1235) remarks that 'the day when he (*sc.* David) was anointed[3] God took him to

1. R Smith, *op. cit.*, 39-61.
2 Braude, 'Midrash on Psalms', I 41.
3. Qimhi takes the verb as *nasak* 'poured out', although this cannot mean 'anointed', and not from *nāsak* 'installed', LXX, Vulg. and

Himself for a son, as He says: To me a king (I Sam. 16 : 1); and he said: This day *yldtyk*; for on this day the 'spirit of God was born in him, as it is written : and the spirit of the LORD came mightily upon David from that day onwards (I Sam. 16 : 3).' Thus he takes the verb as referring to the king not as physically begotten but as chosen by God for kingship; in other words, he regards it as describing a moral, not a physical, relationship.[1]

All this raises the question whether *y^elidtikā* 'I have begotten thee' is correctly vocalized. This verb in the Qal (act I theme) refers everywhere else in the Old Testament to the bearing of children by women and occasionally to their begetting by men, for which the causative theme is proper; and it is also occasionally used metaphorically for a nation producing children, of the wicked spawning lies (Ps. 7 : 16; cp. Is. 33 : 11, Jb. 15 . 35), of producing wind in making vain efforts (Is. 33 : 18), of a day yielding events (Prov. 27 : 1) and of the production of hoar-frost (Jb. 38 · 29) None of these uses, however, are analogous to that here postulated. The Pu'al (pass. II theme), however, as used in reference to the recognition by the grandfather of children who are 'born (*yull^edu*) on his knees,'[2] i. e , are acknowledged by him as his son's sons (Gen. 50 : 23) or by the grandmother who takes the child and nurses it (Ru. 4 17), and it is somewhat similarly used of the incorporation of foreigners in the spiritual Zion (Ps. 90 · 2).

The Hebr *yilled* 'acknowledged, adopted, reared', from which *m^eyalledet* 'midwife' is formed, is used perhaps again in the Mishnah in the sense of 'reared (a child)'[3]; and the

Psalt. Rom.; cp Jer , *ad Hebr* , Pesh and Targ).

1 Not Q I 28 a ii 11-12, where the text seems to be out of order.

2 Elsewhere the Qal is used in this sense, when the true mother is bearing the child (Gen 30 3)

3 In *Abodah Zarah* ii 1 where Maimonides and Bertinoro take *m^eyalledet* 'woman delivering (a child)' as meaning *m^egodelet* 'rearing' (Elmslie, 'Mishna on Idolatry' 27-8).

Arab. *wallada* 'aided (a mother) in giving birth; reared (a child)' is similarly used, while the derivative *muwalladu(n)* 'adopted, acknowledged (as an Arab)' and so 'not a genuine Arab' further illustrates this use of the root. Lastly, Muslims say *'anta nabiya 'ana wallattuka* (for *walladtuka*) 'thou art my prophet, I have reared' or 'adopted thee (as such)' as a parody of the use of the Psalmist's *'anta 'bunayya* 'thou art my son' by Christians [1]

The choice then lies between assigning a unique sense to *yᵉlidtika* 'I have begotten thee' as meaning 'I have adopted thee'[2] or of re-vocalizing the word as *yilladtika* 'I have adopted thee' as the *sollemnia verba* of the ceremony of adoption accompanying it require; for the traditional 'I have begotten thee' ought to be abandoned as yielding a highly improbable, if not impossible sense, in the context.

In v. 9 the Hebr *tr'm* may be read either as *tir'em* 'thou shalt shepherd (i.e., rule) them' (Hupfeld with LXX, Jer. *ad Hebr* and Pesh.; cp Vulg. and *Psalt. Rom.*)[3] or as *tᵉro'em* 'thou shalt break them' (R.V. with M.T., Symm. and Targ.). As thus taken the verb is an Aramaism found elsewhere in the Old Testament (e.g., Jer. 11 : 16; 15 · 12 and Jb. 34 . 24); but it is not necessarily a mark of a late, even relatively late, date as 'the diction of Hebrew poetry owes much of its distinctive colouring to the Aramaic language'.[4] In any case, 'thou shalt rule them' is preferable; for the assignment of the nations to the king would have no point if he began his rule by destroying them.[5] Only if unable to rule them with a 'sceptre of iron' would he turn and mash them 'like a potter's vessel'.

1 Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat*, IV 503
2 Cp Kessler Die Psalmen (1899) 4 where sonship per adoptionism is suggested as the sense
3 Cp Apocalypse, 2 . 27, 12 : 5, 19 : 15
4 Cp Wagner, *Die lex. u gramm. Aramaismen im at Hebraisch*, 8-11, 158
5 Schmidt, *Psalmen* 2

In vv. 11-12 the famous problem of *gilu birᵉʻādāh nassᵉ-qu-bar* 'rejoice with trembling: kiss the son' (R.V. with Pesh.) remains to be discussed. Not only is 'rejoice with trembling' very nearly if not actually a self-contradictory proposition, but 'kiss the son', implying the unique introduction of the purely Aram. *bar* 'son' into a classical Hebrew poem, is equally impossible; and the difficulty of interpreting the expression is shown up by the divergent renderings of the ancient translators, namely 'lay hold of instruction' (LXX, Vulg., Jer. *Psalt Rom.*, and Targ.) or 'grasp knowledge' (Aq), 'kiss in a choice manner' (Aq.) or 'do homage' or 'adore in purity' (*Symm* and Jer. *ad Hebr.*). The first modern attempt to make sense of these words may be found in the suggestion to re-arrange the letters so as to read *birᵉ ʻādāh nassᵉqu bᵉraglāyw* 'with trembling kiss his feet', i.e., 'do him homage'.[1] This emendation, ingenious as it is, cannot stand as it is, even though it has been almost unanimously accepted, for two reasons: (1) it violates Hebrew usage inasmuch as *nāsaq* 'kissed' requires the object to stand in the accus. case or, as most commonly, to be introduced by *lᵉ*– 'to' (not by *bᵉ*- 'on')[2]; and (2), although kissing the feet was a form of homage paid to Assyrian kings of the 7th and 6th centuries B C (e. g., Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal)[3] and was practised occasionally also by the Egyptians[4], it was never a recognized act of homage in the West.[5] Alternatively then *birᵉ ʻādāh nassᵉqu laggibbor*

1. Bertholet in *Zeitschr f d. alttest. Wissensch.* XXVIII [1908] 58-9, 193
2. The same objection can be raised against *nassᵉqu bo* 'kiss him' (Dyserinck, cited by Briggs, 'Book of Psalms', I 24).
3. Muss-Arnolt, 'Concise Assyr. Dictionary', 740-1
4. Wiedemann, *Das alte Agypten* 65 (s. *Abb* 5), 95.
5. Cp Luke, 7 : 38, 45 (where however the intention is entirely different). It is also mentioned as a mark of respect for an honoured teacher once or twice in the Talmud (e g , Schwab, *Talm. de Jerus* , II 13, *Pe'ah* i 15d).

'with trembling kiss the mighty one' or 'the Mighty One' may be suggested. This emendation of the text has the threefold advantage that (1) it uses only the same letters as those in the Hebrew text, that (2) it postulates the correct Hebrew idiom, and that (3) it agrees with Hebrew practice as seen in 'Samuel took the vial of oil and poured it upon his (*sc* Saul's) head and kissed him' (I Sam. 10 : 1; cp. I Ki. 19 : 18 and Hos. 13 : 2 for kissing gods or idols as a form of worship).[1] The *gibbor* 'mighty one' may be the king (cp. Pss. 45 : 4, 89 : 20 and Dan. 11 : 3) or God (cp. Deut. 10 : 17 and J. b. Sir 35 : 22 and 51 : 10, where the text has 'I exalted the LORD, saying Thou art my father; thou art a Mighty One, even my salvation'). In the former case the parallelism, if not exact, resembles that in 'fear God and honour the king', in the latter it seems perhaps correct and, further, the general tenor of the following clauses is in favour of supposing that God rather than the king is the object of the prescribed homage; for, although a king's wrath may be dangerous and even fatal (Prov. 19 : 12, 20 : 2), the use of *ḥôse bô* 'those who seek refuge in Him' refers it only to God (e.g., Nah. 1 : 7, Pss. 5 : 12, 18 : 31, 31 : 20, 34 : 23, Prov. 30 : 5). If, however, the king is meant, the final clause must be taken as a late liturgical addition to the original text of the Psalm.[2]

In v. 12 *kimᵉʿaṭ* 'according to a little' probably means not 'but a little' (A V. with Pesh. and Targ.) but 'in a moment, quickly' (R. V. with LXX, Vulg., Jer. *ad Hebr.* and *Psalt. Rom.*).

The Psalm may now be translated:

1. Why have the nations bestirred themselves
   and the people plotted – all in vain?

1. Kissing as a form of worship is forbidden in the post-Biblical law (Mishnah, *Sanhedrin*, vii 6)
2. Haupt, cited by Gunkel, *Psalmen* 16

2. The kings of the earth have taken their places
and rulers have conspired together
against the LORD and against His anointed,
3. (saying) 'Let us snap their bonds asunder
and cast their chains from on us'.
4. He that dwells in heaven laughed,
the Lord mocked at them.
5. Then did He storm at them in His anger
and threaten them in His wrath;
6. but I have been installed as His king
on Zion, His holy mountain.
7. I will recite the LORD God's decree:
The LORD has said of me
'Thou art my son,
this day have I adopted thee.
8. If thou ask of me, I will give (thee)
nations as thy heritage
and earth's ends as thy possession;
9. thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron
and smash them like a potter's vessel.
10. Now therefore, you kings, be prudent;
be wary, you rulers of the earth·
11–12. serve the LORD with fear
and with trembling kiss the Mighty One[1],
lest He[2] become angry and you perish in the way;
for His[2] anger may flare up in a moment.
Happy are all who find refuge in Him.

The attempts to identify the king for whose coronation this Psalm is supposed to have been composed are as various as they are incapable of proof. They are David and Solomon, Josiah, Uzziah, Hezekiah, and even the Maccabaeans Aristobulus I and Alexander Jannaeus. David (Perowne) was

1. Or 'mighty one'
2. Or 'he' and 'his'.

anointed king at Hebron and ruled there for seven years before taking Jerusalem from the Jebusites and settling there (II Sam. 2 : 1-4 ; 5 : 1-12). Solomon (Ewald) was anointed at Gihon and went up thence into Jerusalem to rule in his father's place (I Ki. 1 : 38-48 ; 2 : 12) and there 'he sat on the throne of the LORD' (I Chron. 29 : 23); and, although his sway extended 'over all the kingdoms from the River (*sc.* the Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the border of Egypt' (I Ki. 4 : 21). nothing is said of a general rising of subject kings against him ; for Hadad king of Edom and Rezon king of Aram were his enemies, not his subjects, and they did him little harm (I Ki. 11 : 14-25). Uzziah (Meier) warred against the Philistines and various Arab tribes and received 'gifts', i.e., tribute, from the Ammonites (II Chron. 26 : 1-9), but these were in no sense subject races rebelling in concert against their overlord : and nothing is said of such events in the original source (II Ki. 15 : 1-7). Another difficulty in supposing that David or Solomon is meant is that the Psalmist seems to imply the existence of the Temple on Mount Zion ; but David only supplied materials and Solomon built it only after his accession to the throne, although he was crowned in Jerusalem. Hezekiah (Maurer), too, 'smote' the Philistines ; but on rebelling against the Assyrians he was compelled to buy them off when, after overrunning Judah, they invested Jerusalem (II Ki. 18 : 18, 13 : 16; 19 : 35-37). Josiah (Briggs) was killed at Megiddo when opposing the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho, having presumably been called to his aid with other princes of the region by the Assyrian governor (II Ki. 23 : 29) ; but the whole account of this king contains not the slightest hint of a rebellion of subject states against his authority. All that can be said of any one of them is that each of them may have done enough to have been regarded, in virtue of their anointing as kings, as the typical Messianic king. Finally, the conspiracy of Pekah king of Israel and Rezin king of Aram against Ahaz king of Judah by the Moabites and their allies (II Chron. 20 : 1,

22-24) are equally out of the question ; for none of these nations were rebels against their lawful suzeraign. No Maccabaean prince, whether Aristobulus I (Duhm) nor Alexander Jannaeus (Hitzig), calls for serious consideration. The former was regarded as a Philhellene, and he conquered and circumcized the Ituraeans (104-103 B C.). The latter in an attempt to reduce a number of neighbouring cities, including those of Upper Galilee, was defeated by the Egyptians who however withdrew and left him in control of the country, but his monarchical ambitions roused the enmity of the Pharisees and Judaea was plunged into civil war from which he emerged successful, whereupon many of his opponents went over to his side ; towards the end of his reign he was engaged in struggles with the Greek cities of Palestine, in the course of which he died (Hitzig) Neither of these rulers had characters likely to inspire a Messianic hymn and neither had to meet a combination of subject nations in rebellion against themselves ; and the language of the Psalm sounds improbable as applied to a prince of the Maccabaean age. Finally (and perhaps fatally) to the identification of the subject of the Psalm with either of these rulers is the fact that a Greek translation of it finds a place in the Septuagint's Greek translation of the Old Testament, which was made approximately between 350 and 250 B C.

No definite evidence to establish the identity of the king addressed in the Psalm can be found in it ; and the historical records of the Old Testment preserve no tradition throwing any light on the problem. The most that can be said is that the poet seems to have taken Nathan's prophecy that the Lord would give David rest from his enemies, that He would make him a 'house', e.g , a family, that after his death his descendants would constitute a dynasty which would sit on his throne 'for ever' (II Sam. 7 : 10-16). Inspired by this prophecy, and the enthronement of Solomon on Mount Zion, the Psalmist has composed a poem giving an idealized picture of the Davidic dynasty ruling from Mt. Zion over the whole

known world and at the same time warning the nations to accept its rule and worship the God of Israel ; such a Psalm might be sung at the coronation of any king of this dynasty or on other suitable occasions. Finally, it will have been composed at any time between Nathan's prophecy promising David an unbroken succession of descendants on the throne of Judah (*c.* 1000 B. C.) and the downfall of the Judaean kingdom (587/6 B. C.)

ASAF ALI-ASGHAR FYZEE

The Fatimid Doctrine of Faith

THE Fatimids are one of the earliest dynasties of the Shiites to have wielded extensive power. It extended from North Africa to the Middle East as far as Syria. They ruled for two and a half centuries and their power was destroyed by the Ayyubid Sultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn in the 12th century.

Their doctrine of *īmān* was formulated for the first time by their Chief Missioner and Chief Justice the Cadi Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Ahmad b. Ḥayyūn al-Maghribī al-Tamīmī. He was born at a date unknown and died during the reign of al-Mu'izz, the Fourth Fatimid Caliph-Imam, in 363/974 at Cairo. His prestige and position was so great that the Imam himself led the funeral prayer Nu'mān served the first four Fatimid caliphs—Mahdī, Qā'im, Mansūr and Mu'izz, and thus he must have been born during the last decade of the ninth century. A. D.

Nu'mān was a great missioner, historian and judge; but above all he was a jurist—the jurist *par excellence* of the Fatimids. It was he who has left many works on *fiqh*, unlike his illustrious namesake Imam al-A'zam Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān b. Thābit, not a single one of whose works can be said to survive authentically. Nu'mān can certainly be judged critically by the 11 surviving works of the 44 that he compo-

sed. Of these the greatest is the *Da'ā'im al-Islām, The Pillars of Islam* (shortly, *Pillars*) ; it is a work in two volumes, the first dealing with religious topics and the second, with legal matters. The *Pillars* has a very high authority among the sectarians, somewhat akin to that of Bukhārī among the Sunnites. The Fatimid scholars themselves consider it one of their FOUR BOOKS, the first being the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā'* and two other esoteric works practically unknown to non-Fatimids. It is in the first volume of the *Pillars* that we find historically the earliest definition of *īmān*, "Faith", in the technical sense of the Fatimids.

As I am preparing a translation of the *Pillars*, it is felt desirable that for this volume I should give a brief summary of this chapter, which, in its complete form will be published shortly under the caption, *The Book of Faith.*

True belief consists of seven Pillars—*walāya/wilāya* (devotion to the Imam/Authority or Power of the Imam) ; *tahāra* (purity) ; *ṣalā* (prayer) ; *zakā* (poor-tax); *sawm* (fasting) ; *ḥajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) ; *jihād* (war in self-defence). These seven chapters comprise the first volume, perhaps the most read of all Fatimid books, and in my estimation a very important source for the earliest phase in Shiite theology. The brief summary which follows is of the first "pillar", faith (*imān*). It is well to add that in my rendering "belief" is tantamount to *islām* in general ; but I use "faith" for that special form of belief which is its inner and purer form, namely *īmān*.

The most important ingredient of faith is *walāya/wilāya*, one root word vocalized in two different ways The first form *walāya* means the love and devotion due to the Imam, a descendant of the Prophet, a possessor of that secret authority which was inherited from him, and a wielder of authority as his successor in temporal power. The second form *wilāya* means authority or power *Walāya* is the tribute of man to the Imam; *wilāya* is an attribute of the Imam and constitutes his majesty.

After *walāya/wilāya* comes *ṭahāra*; it will be observed that these are two elements which are absent in Sunnite theology where the five pillars are the same as the last five of the Fatimids. They are so familiar as not to merit any description here. The word *ṭahāra* as used in the Koran has a special significance. It is used by the Musta'lian Ismailis for that process of cleaning by God which is especially employed by Him for five of His chosen slaves: The Prophet's Family, namely Muḥammad, 'Alī (his cousin), Fāṭima (his daughter); Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (his grandsons by Fāṭima and 'Alī).

First as to 'Alī himself He was chosen at the Ghadīr Khumm; and the Prophet said: "O People, know that what Aaron was to Moses, 'Alī is to me, save and except that there shall be no prophet after me, and he is my Plenipotentiary (*walī*) to you after me. Therefore he to whom I am Master (*mawlā*), 'Alī is his Master." Then the Prophet lifted the arms of 'Alī, until the whiteness of the arm-pits was visible and said to the people assembled "O God, be affectionate to him who is devoted to 'Alī, show enmity to him who is his enemy; give victory to him who helps 'Alī, and forsake him who forsakes 'Alī May the truth encompass 'Alī to the end of his life."

'Alī was appointed by the Prophet himself; he was the source of the "Church" of Islam much in the same way as Peter the Disciple of Jesus was the Rock of the Church. In the same manner 'Alī appointed Ḥasan his eldest son; and on his death Ḥusayn succeded him. Thereafter through the progeny of Ḥusayn was established an eternal institution, the Imamate, for the guidance of man and as the the Proof of God on earth. The succession will endure till the Day of Judgement; and he who dees not possess a knowledge of the "Living Imam" dies the death of a pagan—"the death of the Days of Wildness (*jāhiliyya*)."

Another difference between the generality of believers and Ismailis is the distinction between *islām* and *imān*. The Koran uses two words, *aslamnā* and *āmannā*, and their connotations cannot be identical. *Islām* is the outer crust; *imān* the inner

kernel. Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir describes this graphically by drawing two concentric circles on the palm of his hand, one within the other, and likened *islām* to the outer, and *imān* to the inner circle. Hence, I use the terms 'belief' for *islām* and 'faith' for *īmān*. Islam is a simple concept: belief in God and Prophet. But *imān* is complex. It is defined in the *Pillars* as

i. *al-qawl bi'l-lisān* = profession by tongue;
ii. *al-tasdīq bi'l-janān* = belief with conviction; and above all
iii. *al-'amal bi'l-arkān* = action in conformity with principles.

It is interesting to observe that this dictum attributed to the Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is identically the same as the definition of Imam al-A'zam Abū Ḥanīfa, the first of the Sunnite Imams. Thus the doctrine mentioned in the *Pillars* goes back at least to two centuries earlier than Nu'mān, the period between Abū Ḥanīfa (*d.* 150 A.H.) and Nu'mān (*d.* 363 A.H.), or to use oriental rhetoric—between the times of 'the two Nu'māns' who possess incidentally the same *kunya*, Abū Ḥanīfa. Thus name, *kunya* and doctrine are at one on one point at least. But this does not cause surprise to the Fatimid, for he fervently believes that the Sunnite Imam Abū Hanīfa was the pupil and younger contemporary of Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

Nu'mān goes on to show that none of the terms of the definition can be eliminated with impunity. Faith without action, or action without faith are neither of them, singly, sufficient to constitute *īmān*. They must both concur; and it must be stressed that faith in itself is a fuller and purer form of belief.

Now action is not "good works" in general—a term in general use today. The action of each limb is described and it is stressed that every limb of the body has its own rights and obligations.

Furthermore "faith" is itself not a static and unchangea-

ble concept. It is a living organism; it may increase or decrease; it has its grades and stations. This can be supported from the Koran itself, and it is the doctrine of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*.

Then Nu'mān turns his attention to the fundamental doctrine of Fatimid Ismailism—the establishment, transmission and eternal existence of the Imamate. Let us examine in brief his argument :

The Prophet appointed 'Alī as his *walī* (plenipotentiary) and his *waṣī* (vicegerent). The English renderings are at best approximations which I have essayed of terms and concepts the true translation whereof is probably impossible in English. The term *walī* emphasizes spiritual authority; the second, *waṣī* the importance of the direct transmission of authority from the founder of the faith.

The transmission of the Imamate in the *Da'āim* is simple—'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and so on, but the later ramifications are not easy and it required other, more ingenious, apologists to sustain a lineage so divergent from the original inheritors.

If 'Alī was appointed Imam by the Prophet and each following Imam appointed his successor, it follows that as 'Alī was first in point of time, and appointed by the Master himself, he has a higher rank than the Imams that follow, and this is *wiṣāya*, the attribute of the *waṣī*, the direct recipient of the Prophet's command.

This doctrine of the Imamate has a remarkable parallel in the second volume. The document called the Testament of 'Alī in the chapter on Wills confirms it in all details. The Testament of Ali has been translated by me in the *Ismaili Law of Wills* (Oxford, 1942) and merits the closest study. Parts of it have found their way into the *Nahj al-Balāgha*, and I hope some scholar far better equipped than me will some day take up the task of analysing fully this unique testament—a document nowhere to be found in the extensive literature of the Shiites in its definitive form.

The transference of the Imamate is the task to which Nu'mān directs his attention next. In the first six cases, analysis shows the holders of the Imamate to follow the following pattern. PROPHET — First cousin ('Alī) — eldest son (Ḥasan) — brother (Ḥusayn) — son (Alī b. Ḥusayn Zayn al 'Ābidīn) — son (Muhammad al-Bāqir) — son (Ja'far al-Ṣādiq). Such a succession raises the question of succession and transference in an acute form, and Nu'mān's thesis may be given from the *Pillars* in his own words :

"When 'Alī died Ḥasan was entitled to the Imamate in preference to Ḥusayn by the argument of priority in time; and this follows from the Koranic verse: *The foremost in the race are the foremost* (56,10). Thus Ḥasan was anterior to Ḥasayn and therefore his right was greater. And when Ḥasan died, he had no right to allocate the Imamate to his own progeny, because his brother was coeval in purification (This has already been discussed by the author in dealing with *taṭhīr* and *mubāhala*). The Imamate came to Ḥusayn by priority, in preference to the descendants of Ḥasan . . .

' Now when Ḥusayn died he had no right to return the Imamate to the sons of Ḥasan, in preference to his own, by the force of the Word of God the Glorious and Mighty . . . *and those who are akin are nearer one to another in the Book of God* (8,75). As Ḥusan's sons were nearer akin to him than the sons of his brother, Ḥasan, they had a greater claim to the Imamate. Thus this verse excludes the sons of Ḥasan and awards the Imamate to the sons of Ḥusayn. Now this office—the Imamate—will continue among the descendants of Ḥusayn till the Day of Resurrection: *Da'ā'im*, I, 65 (end).

It will be conceded that this is an ingenious argument in defence of the first six Imams, reconciling Koranic dictum with tribal hopes and custom; but the later history of the Imamate creates many difficulties which are outside the scope of this paper.

The rest of the book deals with the Imam as infallible preserver and "proof" of the faith whose station is far above

the common herd. The beliefs of the extremists bringing the Imam nearer to the deity are dismissed as sinful and errant. Then follow sections with the directions given by the Imams and the importance of acquiring true knowledge. Some of the ideas are revealing and beautiful, deriving from Greek philosophy and Semitic lore.

The above paper attempts to give in brief the doctrine of the Imamate as propounded by Nu'mān; for details, the student will have to wait till *The Book of Faith* is published and is subjected to critical analysis by competent scholars.

For further reading:

I have advisedly not added footnotes to this general discussion, but will mention some works which will give further information to the student (1) "The Isamilis" in *Religion in the Middle East*, ed A J. Arberry, Cambridge, 1969, II, 318-29, by A. A. A Fyzee, (2) "The Religion of the Isamilis" in *Indian and Contemporary Islam*, Transactions of the Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, Vol. VI, pp 70-87, 1972, (3) *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, III, 953, s. v al-Nu'man by A. A A. Fyzee; and other articles in the *Ency of Islām*, such as Shī'a, Ismā'īlīs, Imāmiyya, Fatimids, etc. (4) *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, ed. Fyzee, Vol. I, Maaref Press, Cairo, 1951, Vol II, 1961 The translation of the *Pillars* is under preparation

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The Cultural Function of the Dream as illustrated by Classical Islam

LIKE nations, sciences have their moments of advance and retreat. Unlike nations, though sciences readily establish condominium over contested territory, they fail to perceive that such condominium also prevails where they believe themselves to be in exclusive possession. So the borders—not to say the area—of nature and culture oscillate and overlap as the development of natural and cultural sciences draws the two regions closer or pushes them farther apart, makes them seem to coincide or barely to touch.

This century has witnessed a signal increase in the scope of the cultural sciences. The realization of the social conditioning of physiological behaviour has spread—consider only what anthropology has taught with regard to postures, elementary movements, habits of relaxation and sleep. May one go so far as to claim the admission of cultural factors whenever psychological influence on physiological fact is recognized ? Conversely, the physiological infrastructure not only of language, but the literature and music, the plastic arts — in short, of all aesthetic creation — has come to be accepted, although it may still be disregarded in actual research. But whatever the scholarly practice may be, the *Kulturforscher* at least recognizes that (1) a wide variety of

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psychological phenomena need to be investigated for their cultural components (or motivation), and that (2) a correspondingly *wide variety of cultural phenomena need to be* studied for their physiological or 'natural' facets. More stringently put, the *Kulturforscher* has learned that to understand the cultural variables of a phenomenon he has first to ascertain its 'natural' invariables.

Among the phenomena to which this methodological principle applies, the dream ranks with the most conspicuous. Its physiological basis is uncontestable, its social and cultural range coterminous with human society—if we may disregard here the dreaming observable in animals. An indispensable part of the human existence, it is dependent on the endeavours of a considerable number of sciences, from neurophysiology to literary history and from medicine to comparative religion, if one is to describe it completely and a fortiori to explain it adequately. The simultaneous unity and functional diversity of the elemental human experience are brought home dramatically by this need for concerted attack from every one of the numerous points of departure implied in the divers contexts in which the dream makes its appearance.

The wealth of material to be considered by any and all of the sciences concerned with its elucidation, and, in fact, the very efficiency of their individual advancement, have tended to prevent the coordination of effort which the investigation, of the dream needs. This Colloquium is intended to counteract the isolation of researches in two ways . (1) by emphasizing the urgency of interdisciplinary cooperation, and (2) by demonstrating concretely the usefulness, on every level and in every relevant branch of learning, of drawing on the results and sharing the problems of those who have chosen different approaches to the multifaceted phenomena of the dream. To the best of my knowledge, our Colloquium is the first systematic attempt to provide the oneirologists of every persuasion with at least an apercu of the state of knowledge attained in neighbouring fields which are yet remote in terms of current

organization of research.

The aim could only be representative selection, not completeness, particularly with regard to function and significance of the dream in different cultural settings, both present and past. A certain emphasis on the Near East is accidental, yet heuristically defensible because of the intense concern that Muslim civilization has shown for the dream. Other emphasis or omissions may be equally accidental but suggestion and example may do more for the growth of our studies than a prematurely encyclopaedic treatment, which could hardly produce anything at this stage but pretentious monotony.

For our purpose, we designate Descartes as the first fully self-conscious spokesman of the recent West, and we term all civilizations before his time, Eastern or Western, 'medieval' or, more blandly, 'pre-modern'. I wish to indicate by these adjectives—which are too pale and at the same time too precise, too much and too little related to concrete historical situations—that those civilizations possess, in varying degrees, these characteristics (*a*) Their theory of knowledge is predominantly realist. Concepts, principles of order and organization, in short, names and universals, any entity construed or abstracted for delineation and mastery of the particular, are attributed existence (*b*) Ultimate reality is transcendental, and this worldly reality is its sign or symbol. Being, consequently, becomes susceptible of gradation, with the hierarchy of being frequently felt to coincide with the hierarchy of graded participation in moral perfection (*c*) The craving for absolute and largely static truth—for change degrades, and becoming is inferior to being—excludes acquiescence in psychological or operational truth. The human experience reflects not merely the human condition but an objective reality independent of the structure of the human 'soul'. Introspection does not stop at self-cognition but aspires to the exteriorization or reification of psychological experiences and its causes. (*d*) Accordingly, the universe and, with it, the individual life are centered on God or on fate; man's purpose

is outside himself and so are the source and the rationale of the incidents that make up his life. (*e*) As there are no firm criteria to distinguish fact from figment, figment from theory, and again theory from fact, man is reduced to speculation and deduction, exposed to wonderment and fear to an extent no longer imaginable to ourselves, hence subjected to alternations of extreme emotions which make him grasp at any cue by which to secure orientation in a universe that by its very construction defies orientation. (*f*) Hence, also, man's dedication to an ideal of cosmic and social stability with fixed lines of causation and symbolization. The universe—at least its directly relevant segment—tends to be limited or closed. At the same time, this quest for stability and security is defeated *ab initio* by the unwillingness to accept the epistemological consequences of the frailty of human cognition: revelations and dreams, signs of any kind, are expected to remedy from the outside what man is unable to achieve from within. (*g*) Accordingly, psychological phenomena tend to be interpreted as representing objective, nonpsychological 'outside' reality; they constitute a means of obtaining objective, factual information about this outside reality and, up to a point, of controlling it. (*h*) There is, to put it differently, no mandatory or even no clearly perceived dividing line between the natural and the supernatural, any more than (*i*) between the possible and the impossible.[1]

This axiomatics, or mentality, creates of necessity (*a*) an intense concern for the dream that is (*b*) experienced and viewed as indicating, most of all, nonsubjective and nonpsychological (that is, suprapersonal and objective) facts and conditions (*c*) when it does not fulfil the function of a means of communication between the dreamer and the superhuman or supernatural powers. In other words, the dream is seen as

1. In connection with (*h*) and (*i*), cf L Febvre, *Le Probleme de l'incroyance au XVIe siecle La religion de Rabelais* (2d ed., Paris, 1947), pp. 473-481.

possessed of cognitive force in regard to otherwise inaccessible sectors of objective reality, especially such as the future and the Hereafter, or, more generally, truths bearing on man's relation to the divine.

Thus the role of the dream, with its heuristic transpersonal symbolism, was firmly and legitimately embedded in the medieval civilization of Islam as well as in the outlook prevalent throughout our own Middle Ages. To account for certain contemporary attitudes toward the dream, it is useful to remember that the particulars of a cultural approach tend to linger even though their structural justification has long disappeared. Below and sometimes even on the surface of our own cultural life astrology persists, despite the fact that it is incompatible with our concepts of infinite universe and of causation, in short with the major assumptions of both our cosmology and our epistemology. The same goes for the reaction to the dream as it continues to animate sizable sections of the population throughout the West. Like an erratic bloc surviving from a past geological age the popular quest for material guidance from dreams, fed by curiosities and anxieties, continues on the medieval pattern. Logical contradiction, a divided intellectual universe, are less troublesome than the urge that the dream would seem to gratify so well This reminder of the inconsistencies of conceptual frameworks, both on the individual and (even more so) on the collective plane, will help to account for the persistence of a certain type of dream interpretation, as well as of astrology, in the face of hesitations suggested by the implications of the accepted religious doctrine.

The ubiquity of the dream in Muslim civilization is touched upon in my communication only with regard to its 'great tradition', its upper stratum, where its appropriateness to the scientific world view is significant. It cannot be emphasized enough that to the medieval Muslim, scholar or lay, the cognitive power of the dream does not present an epistemological problem. Not a single time does the latest autho-

rity on *oneirokritika*, the theologian 'Abdalghanī an-Nābulusī (1641-1731), the compiler of an encyclopaedic guide to dream interpretation, arranged by the alphabet of the object seen in the dream, in the six hundred pages of his *Ta'ṭīr al-anām fi ta'bīr al-manām*, question the objective validity of oneiric data. The cognitive significance of the dream is sufficiently established and explained by the observation that "the prophets were wont to consider dreams as revelation to them of the sacred laws: 'Prophecy has passed, and only the bearers of good tidings remain — good dreams which a man sees or which are shown him in sleep.' "[1]

Only the classification of the dreams and the methodology of dream interpretation are required. The reality of the objective significance of the dream is guaranteed by the Holy Book itself where Joseph is given knowledge of dreams and is addressed by God with the words

> "Thus your Lord will prefer you and teach you the interpretation of events,"[2] meaning the science of dreams, the prime science since the beginning of the world, which the prophets and messengers did not cease to study and act upon . . . To invalidate the significance of dreams, some unbelievers have stated that what a man sees in his sleep is dictated by the dominant of the four humors. If black bile dominates, he sees impurities [or : misfortunes], blackness, horrors, and terrors, if yellow bile dominates,

1. Abdalghanī an-Nābulusī, *Ta'ṭīr al-anām fīta'bīr al-manām* (Cairo, 1316), I, 2 The *hadīth* was accepted by Buhkārī (cf. his *Sahīh*, 91.5) The translations from the *Ta'ṭīr al-anām* throughout the chapter were prepared by D P Little in collaboration with me The relationship of dream and prophecy is discussed in the remarkable study by Toufy Fahd, "Les Songes et leur interpretation selon l'Islam," in A.-M. Esnoul, P. Garelli, *et al.*, eds , *Les Songes et leur interpretation*, Sources orientales, Vol II (Paris, 1959), pp 125-157, at p 137, Talmudic sayings of the same type ("The dream is the sixtieth part of prophecy," and the like) are referred to on p 156 n. 37.
2. Koran 12 6.

he sees fire, lights, blood, and stuffs dyed yellow (*mu'asfarāt*); if phlegm dominates, whiteness, water, rivers and waves he sees; and if blood dominates, he sees wine, aromatic plants, lutes, and pipes [lit. : string and wood-wind instruments]. But this constitutes only one type of dream, to which the whole range of dreams cannot be limited. For we know for certain that while the humors do dictate some dreams, some dreams are sent by the devil and some originate in the self. The latter, the truest of the three, are "confused [or : incoherent] dreams" (*adghāth*), so-called because they are mixed. They are like a bundle formed of plants, a *hu-ma* that a person picks from the earth, containing plants both large and small, red and green, withered and fresh . . .

It has been said that dreams are of three kinds : dreams of glad tidings from God; they are those good dreams cited in the tradition; dreams of warning from the devil ; and dreams that originate in the self. Dreams of warning from the devil are false and have no interpretation [or : significance] . . . . As examples of dreams that originate in the aspiration of the self, a person sees himself with one whom he loves; or, sees something of which he is afraid, or, being hungry, sees himself eating, being replete, sees himself vomit, sleeping in the sun, sees himself burning in fire; there being pain in his members, sees himself tortured.

False dreams are divided into seven types : (1) those that originate in the self, in desire, ambition, and confusion; (2) [sexual] dreams that necessitate ablution and have no interpretation; (3) warnings from the devil—threats and nightmares—which do no damage; (4) dreams that are shown by sorcerers, both *jinnī* and human, and are just as much a burden upon dreamers as those sent by the devil[1]; (5) falsity shown by Satan, not counted among

1. For (3) and (4) cf., as representative of our own attitude as late as

dreams; (6) dreams shown by the humors when they are at variance and turbid, (7) "reversion," that is, when a dreamer sees himself in the present as if he were twenty years younger.

The truest dreams are those of good tidings. If in the dream there are tranquility, repose, splendid garments, and wholesome, appetizing food, the dream is true and confusion is at a minimum. True dreams are divided into five types : (1) the trustworthy, manifest dream—a part of prophecy, in accordance with the words of the Exalted . "God has confirmed for his messenger the vision with truth. You shall enter the Holy Mosque, if God wills, secure."[1] . . . It has been said . "Blessed the one who sees a dream clearly, for clear dreams without mediation of the angel of the dreams are sent by none but the Creator." (2) Good dreams, which are glad tidings from God, just as adverse tidings are a means by which God alerts you . . . (3) Dreams that the angel of dreams shows you, his name being Ṣiddīqūn, in accordance with what God has taught him from the original copy of the Book and has inspired him in providing a sure likeness for each and every thing. (4) The symbolic dream, which is from spirits. For example, a person sees in sleep one of the angels saying to him, "Your wife wants to give you poison to drink by the hand of your friend So and So," thereby hinting to him that the friend is committing adultery with his wife. But his dream indicates that the adultery is hidden, just like the poison. (5) The dream that is valid for the viewer and exerts an overpowering influence upon him, whereupon he makes evil into good and good into evil. For example, he

the sixteenth century, the verses of Ronsard in which he identifies the demons bringing the dreams as messengers of the godhead :

Postes divins postes de Dieu
Qui ses segrets nous apportez grand erre
(Quoted by Febvre, *op. cit* , pp. 205-206)

1. Koran 48 : 27.

> dreams that he is playing a *ṭunbūr* [a long-necked string instrument] in a mosque; thereafter he turns to God in repentance for abomination and the forbidden and becomes well known for his good deeds. Or he dreams that he is reading the Koran in the baths, or dancing; thereafter he gains notoriety for committing abomination or soliciting for whores, for the bath is a place of uncovering the genitals, a place that the angels do not enter, just as the devil does not enter a mosque. The dream of menstruation and ritual impurity is valid, for unbelievers and Magians do not believe in ritual ablution. Joseph interpreted the vision of the king, an unbeliever; the dreams of the young are valid, for Joseph was a boy of seven when he dreamed the dream that came true.[1]

The classification of dreams is followed by what may be called a minimum methodology of their interpretation. The psychophysical basis for the dreamer's awareness of his vision is this: "Man sees dreams with the spirit and understands them with the intelligence. . . . When a man sleeps, his spirit spreads like the light of a lamp or the sun. By this light and the brighness of God he sees that which the angel of dreams shows him. . . . When the senses are reawakened to their

1. Nābulusī, *op. cit.*, I 3-4. Poisoning as a symbol of a wife's adultery occurs in Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, IV 71. A simpler classification was offered by the qadi Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh an-Nakha'ī (*d.* 177/793-794). When the caliph al-Mahdī had seen him in a dream leading the community prayer in competition with himself and was persuaded that the vision indicated the judge's opposition to his rule, Sharīk pointed out that there were four classes of dreams: (1) divine inspiration, (2) converse of man with his own soul, (3) confused visions (or mere dreams, *aḥlām*), and (4) tricks played by Satan on the dreamer (*tala''ub ash-shaiṭān*). The caliph realizes that his dream was of the last class and bestows a robe of honour on the judge (Tauḥīdī [*d.* 1023], *al-Baṣā'ir wa'dh-dhakhā'ir*, ed. A. Amīn and A. Saqr [Cairo, 1373/1953], pp. 218-219).

activities, the spirit is reminded of what the angel of dreams has shown and suggested to it."[1]

Nābulusī protects himself against any objection on the ground of incompleteness by observing that there are many paths to interpretation; the methods of the interpreter are expandable in accordance with his knowledge. There are, however, certain basic traits in the structure of the dream which bear on interpretation.

> The elements of a dream consist of the genus, species and nature of things. Genus, for example, may be trees, beasts of prey, and birds, all these representing men. Species involves knowing the species of the tree, the beast and the bird. If the tree is a palm, the man represented by it is an Arab, for the origin of most palms is the land of the Arabs. If the bird is a peacock, the man is a non-Arab, or, if an ostrich, he is an Arab Bedouin Nature involves observing the nature of the tree; by so doing one determines the nature of the man. If the tree is a walnut, one determines that the man's conduct and arguments are harsh in a dispute. If it is a palm, one determines that he is a man who serves the good. But if the subject is a bird, one knows that he is a man who travels. Then one observes the nature of the bird; if it is a peacock, he is a non-Arab king, handsome and rich. If it is an eagle, he is likewise a king, but if it is a crow, he is a sinful, treacherous man, and a liar.[2]

The connection that the interpreter establishes between the dream elements and 'objective' reality is largely associative. It is preferable that the association be directed by applicable passages from the Koran and the *sunna*; but, in fact, the correct association may be found in "current sayings and common expressions."[3] The truthfulness of a personage

1. Nābulusī, *op cit*, I 5
2. ibid., p. 7.
3. ibid., p 6

seen in a dream depends on what may be expected from him in life: a child will be truthful in a dream because in life he does not yet know how to lie. If animals speak in dreams, they tell the truth, and so do the dead since they are "in the abode of truth."[1] As the environment influences the dreamer, so it influences the dreams. Because of regional differences in regard to "water, climate, and location" the interpretation of the several schools of interpreters differs. "Thus, dreaming in a torrid land of snow, ice, or cold indicates high prices and famine. But if such is dreamed in a cold land, it means fertility and plenty. For the people of India, mud and mire mean prosperity, for others, hardship and distress. Then, too, for Indians, breaking wind signifies good news and pleasure but for others is a disgusting mode of expression. To some countries, fish signify punishment; in others, from one to four fish mean marriage; to Jews—calamity."[2] Even in its Hippocratean disguise this awareness of the cultural conditioning of dream content and dream significance is remarkably clear Nabulusī is conscious that people will approach the interpreter with invented dreams It is not for the interpreter to establish their genuineness. "If the answer is auspicious, the merit is the interpreter's; if bad, it is at the cost of the wilful questioner "[3]

How thoroughly the medieval Muslim was penetrated by the importance of his dreams is to be gauged from autobiographical documents such as the diary of the Ḥanbalite doctor Ibn al-Bannā' of Baghdad (1005-1079). In the preserved portion, which extends from August 3, 1068, to September 4, 1069, no less than twenty-three dreams are narrated, some of them at considerable length. Not all of these are his own, for Ibn al-Bannā' appears to have enjoyed a reputation as an interpreter and so was frequently approached by others for

1. ibid
2. ibid., p 5
3 ibid., p. 6.

an explanation of theirs. These dreams bear on purely personal matters as well as political events and doctrinal questions.[1]

Similarly, the dream plays a prominent part in the autobiography of the Damascene historian Abū Shāma (1203–1268). Indeed, approximately one-fourth of it is taken up by dreams. The author justifies his indulging in these ultra-private reports by the Koranic verse *wa-ammā bi-ni'mati raabika fa-haddith* ("as for the benefactions of thy Lord, tell of them").[2] The gift of dreams was shared by the brother of the Shafi'ite scholar. The community recognized that the caliph 'Umar (634-644) would frequently appear to Abū Shāma in his dreams and transmit through them his ideas concerning the war against the Franks and other matters regarding Islam. This happened in the year 624/1226–27.[3] Typologically, the justification proffered by Abū Shāma for relating his dreams belongs with the mystic ash-Sha'rānī's (*d.* 1565) justifying self-glorification as fulfilment of the believer's duty to avow the acts of grace, *minan*, which God had deigned to confer on him.[4]

There is hardly any phase in the life of the community and the individual where dreams will not play a part. Less with a view to classifying the superabundant material than to increasing its manageableness, certain distinct categories of dreams or dream interference may be distinguished.

1. The dreamer receives personal messages. Thus the Prophet may appear simultaneously to an individual and a

1 Cf. G. Makdisi, "Autograph Diary of an Eleventh-Century Historian of Baghdad", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London), XVIII (1956), 9-31, 239-260, XIX (1957), 13-48, 281-303, 426-443.

2. Koran 93 : 11; R. Bell, *The Qur'ān* (Edinburgh, 1937-1939) translates "And as for the goodness of thy Lord, discourse of it."

3. Abū Shāma, *Kitāb ar-rauḍatain*, ed. and trans. Barbier de Meynard (Paris, 1898-1906), II, 207-210, App. (trans., II, 211-216)

4. Cf G. E. von Grunebaum, *Der Islam im Mittelalter* (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1963), pp. 569 ff , n. 45.

prospective protector who extricates him from a difficult situation.[1] The poet Nizāmī (*d.* 1209) exhorts the Indo-Muslim 'Iṣāmī (wrote 1349-50) to undertake his historical work, later known as *Futūḥ as-salāṭīn*.[2] Before his last journey to Khurasan, Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786-809) sees a hand with red earth coming forth from under his bed while a voice is heard to say: "This is the earth, *turba*, of Hārūn." The court physician asks the caliph to resist the "confused vision"; but needless to say, it proves a true omen.[3] A dream conversation with Aristotle was one of the reasons that induced the caliph al-Ma'mūn to promote translations into Arabic of Greek philosophical texts.[4] A pious North African, convinced that he will die a martyr for the faith, sees in a dream God bless a

1. e g., Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābī, *Wuzarā'*, ed 'A A. Farrāj (Cairo, 1958), pp. 360ult.-362.5. The famous philosopher Abū Sulaimān al-Manṭiqī (*d* 985 or 1000) and his friend, the qadi Ibn Sayyār, have similar dreams almost simultaneously—an indication of their deep-rooted friendship (M. Berge, "Une Anthologie sur l'amitie d' Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī", *Bulletin d'etudes orientales* [Damascus], XVI [1958-1960. published 1961], 15-60, at p 40, quoting Tauḥīdī, "Risāla fī 'ṣ-ṣadāqa wa'ṣ-ṣadīq", in *Risālatān* [Constantinople, 1301], p. 38-13).
2. P Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India* (London, 1960), p. 95.
3. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'n-nihāya* (Cairo, 1351-1358), X. 213, s a. 193/808-809 Translated from a different source, the dream is included in E Schroeder. *Muhammad's People* (Portland, Me., 1955), pp 339-341
4. Cf, e g., Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Cairo, 1348/1929-1930), p. 339. Ma'mūn, however, was not the only prominent person to whom Aristotle appeared. The famous 'illuminationist' thinker Suhrawardī (executed in 1191), too, has left a record of a dream interview with the protophilosopher (R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic* [Oxford, 1962], p 28). Not to overdraw the picture, reference should be made to the existence of a more cautious, even skeptical attitude. Thus, Samau'al al-Maghribī (*d* 1175), defending himself against the allegation that he had accepted Islam merely on account of a dream, insisted that "a sensible man will not be deceived about his affairs by dreams without proof or demonstration" (Samau'al al-Maghribī, *Ifḥām al-Yahūd*, ed. and trans M. Perlmann [New York, 1964], p. 87).

part of his head—exact spot where later he receives his mortal wound.[1] The great Andalusian heresiographer, jurist and littérateur, Ibn Ḥazm (994-1063), records that he has seen some of his deceased friends in his dreams, but others, not. "At the time when one of those was still living we agreed that if possible we should visit [the survivor] in a dream. However, I did not see him after he had preceded me into the other world. And I do not know whether he forgot or was distracted [from appearing]."[2] The present prime minister of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman recently travelled to Ajmer because "a humble man in Malaya dreamt thrice in the course of a few weeks in 1953 that the pir or saint buried there desired the Tunku to pay a visit" to his tomb "if his difficulties were to be solved. . . . In the third and last dream, the pir is said to have brandished a sword." On hearing this the Tunku decided on making the pilgrimage at an early date.[3]

2. *The dream constitutes a private prophecy.* After long years in prison the fallen vizier of al-Mahdī (775-785), Yūnus b. ar-Rabī', is visited in his sleep by an apparition reciting verse to him which suggests his early release. The implied announcement comes true after the dream has recurred three times.[4] The pious Rushaid, of 'Slav' origin, dreamed that he had urinated in the mihrab of a mosque. The famous Buhlul b. Rāshid of Qairawān (*d.* 799) explained this vision as presaging that a son would be born to him, who would become an outstanding religious scholar, a prediction, it is hardly

1. H. R. Idris, "Contribution à l'histoire de l'Ifrika . . . d'après le Riyaḍ En Nufus d'Abu Bakr El Maliki," *Revue des études islamiques* (1935), 105-177, (1936), 45-104, at pp. 52-53, hereafter cited as *REI*
2. *Kitāb al-akhlaq wa's-siyar*, ed. and trans. N. Tomiche (Beirut, 1961), sec. 84.
3. Cf., *Times of India* (Bombay), Oct. 9, 1962, p. 1, col. 3, article entitled "Tunku plans to visit Ajmer Darga." I am beholden to D. R. S. Desai, Assistant, Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles, for acquaintance with this news report
4. E. Kocher, "Ya'qūb b. Dā'ud, Wezir al-Mahdīs", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, III (1955), 378-420, at p. 408

necessary to add, that came true.[1] When on the accession of Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī (1501-1516), more than seven hundred years later, the famous polymath Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (*d.* 1505) comes out of hiding he reports that the Prophet had announced to him in a dream the early end of al-'Ādil Ṭūmānbāy who had sentenced him to death.[2] Abū 'l-'Abbās Ibn al-Furāt, the brother of the famous vizier, appears to Abū 'Abdallāh az-Zanjī telling him his brother's worries would end the next day. In the morning the caliph al-Muktafī (902-908) did, in fact, give him an appointment.[3] In 1169 Asad ad-Dīn Shīrkūh, the Zengid general in Egypt, has a dream which he interprets as foretelling that he would arrest and replace his rival, the Fatimid commander Shāwar. Encouraged by this dream he proceeds with his plot which leads to the capture and execution of his opponent.[4]

The private dream may lead to a personality change. A shrew changes her ways after dreaming that five men would whip her because her husband had complained of her to a saint, the saint, in turn, had informed God who thereupon sent the apparition.[5] A more celebrated instance is the dream that decided Nāsir-i Khusraw in 1045 to end his dissipation and go on pilgrimage.[6] Even more famous, and more consequential for the Muslim community, is the dream that induced al-Ash'arī (*d.* 935) to foresake the *kalām* of the Mu'tazila and

1 Cf Abū 'l-'Arab Muhammad b Aḥmad b. Tamīm, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt 'ulamā' Ifrīqiya*, ed. and trans. M Ben Cheneb (Algiers, 1914-1920), I 110 (trans., II. 189).

2. [Ibn Iyās], *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire,* trans. G. Wiet (Paris, 1955-1960), I. 4.

3. Ṣābī, *op. cit.*, p. 251[1-2], note that it is again Abū 'l-'Abbās who, in 924, announces to his brother, the vizier, his impending execution (D. Sourdel, *Le Vizirat 'abbāside de 749 a 936* [Damascus, 1959-1960], II. 434).

4. Abū Shāma, *op. cit* , I. 144

5. Idris, *REI* (1936), 54.

6 *Safar-Nāma*, trans. Ch. Schefer (Paris, 1881), pp. 3-4.

establish "Ash'arite" orthodoxy.[1] The Qarakhānid chieftain Satūq Bughrā Khān (*d* 955), the first of his tribe to embrace Islam, took this step under the impact of a dream in which conversion was commanded him by heaven.[2]

3. Dreams elucidate theological doctrine. Abū Dulaf, in 226/841, sees his father in a desolate house; the father recites verses to him assuring him of the reality of the examination after death and expressing the wish that death actually were a coming to rest, *rāḥa kull shai'*, which, however, it is not; for on dying we are roused and interrogated.[3] Similarly, al-Bājī tells Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Ghaḍāmisī (*d* 349/960) in a dream that he has come through this examination. "On my death, my soul was given back to me. I perceived all you did to me: the washing [of my body], the shroud, prayer. When you had put me in the ground someone called me shouting to me to recite. My tongue recited the Sura Yāsīn [Sura 36]. The two [interrogating] angels arrived. The one said to the other. 'Examine him!' 'Do you not hear him recite the heart of the Koran?' replied the other; and they went off without further interrogation."[4] These dreams serve the double purpose of clarifying the moot question of the "examination in the grave" and of reassuring the survivors with regard to the fate in the Hereafter of particular persons. Zubaida, the wife of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, who died in 831, is seen in heaven by 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak. She had been admitted to Paradise because of the work she had done on the pilgrim road to Mecca; her face, howerver, was pale because of the moaning

1. The story has often been told with more or less embroidery added (R J. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ash'arī* [Beirut, 1953], pp 150-151, 152-153, 154-155, see also p 170, all versions are translated from Ibn 'Asākir [*d* 1176], *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, ed Husām ad-Dīn al-Qudsī [Damascus, 1347/1928-1929], pp. 38-39, 40-43, 147).
2. Cf W Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Central* (Paris, 1945), p 64, the story does, however, present chronological difficulties
3. Ibn Kathīr, *op cit.*, X 294
4. Idris, *REI* (1935), 278

of the Mu'tazilite Bishr al-Marīsī (*d.* 833) which she had heard rise from Hell and which had made her shiver.[1]

Death reveals the truth about a person's religious condition. The mystic Abū Bakr al-Warrāq (*d.* 903) is weeping when he is seen in a dream by a dervish. He is asked: "Why do you cry?" Al-Warrāq replies. "How could I help crying? Of ten dead who today were carried to the cemetery where I rest, not a one died a believer."[2] The intensity of the communication that some Sufis maintain with the transcendental world by means of the dream can only be noted. It is in the nature of their approach to themselves and to reality that the distinction between personal message and theological enlightenment, or confirmation of their type of religiosity as conveyed by a dream, is difficult to establish.[3] Dreams that clarify the position of the deceased in the Hereafter at the same time frequently instruct on the correct solution of controversial theological issues. There are a number of dreams in which the Prophet is shown siding with the then still living Aḥmad b. abī Du'ād, whose death (which occurred in 854) and punishment are announced.[4] After Ibn Ḥanbal's death (in 855) he is often seen by faithful dreamers deciding theological problems.[5] Saḥnūn, the great doctor (*d.* 854), to whom Mālikism is deeply indebted for its spread in North Africa, after his death announced by means of a dream that to read the Koran with a text before one's eyes was preferable to reciting it by heart, thus deciding a controversy of long standing.[6] It is of course well known that Christian hierarchs, too,

1. Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, X, 271[13-16], *s.a.* 216/831. The name of 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak must be an erroneous choice by the transmitter, for this celebrated preacher and fighter for the faith died in 181/797-798.
2. Cf., H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele* (Leiden, 1955), p. 72, after 'Aṭṭār, *Ilāhī-Nāma*, ed. H. Ritter (Leipzig, 1940), pp. 278-279.
3. The easiest access to the peculiar 'dreamworld' of Sufism is through Ritter, *Meer*, Index, *s.v.* 'Traum', pp. 767-768.
4. Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, X, 321[21]-322[1], *s.a.* 240/854-855.
5. ibid., X, 342-343, *s.a.* 341/855-856.
6. Idris, *REI* (1935), 287

used this manner of communication to set the hearts of the faithful at rest. A dream bore witness that Pope Benedict VIII (1012-1024) had been received into heaven as a result of Cluniac intercession.[1]

At times the stage setting of the dream is quite elaborate. The Rabīʿ al-Qaṭṭān (*d.* 339/950-951) had this dream experience in support of strict predestinarianism. Walking in the air as one does on the ground he became aware of a number of tents and a considerable crowd by them. He got the feeling that he was near God. A voice told him that he was asked to enter, he noticed the chamberlains and was introduced to God whom he saw seated on His royal couch. God told him; "Ask." Rabīʿ asked to be taught something useful. Thereupon he was projected into space, chest first, as if he were swimming in water. He saw people like ants, some had a light, others did not. God said to him: "On earth, those [with the light] desire Us; among them We have chosen a small number and have given them knowledge; one of them is al-Ḥajjāj b. abī Yaʿqūb ad-Daqqāq"[2] In this dream God is introduced quite naively, but the dream vision of the Lord, attested as an actual experience by many who assert having seen Him in various shapes – as a beardless youth, a woman, a Turk with his cap put on at a coquettish angle – was to become a theological problem. The crucial point was, of course, the elimination of anthropomorphic conceptions. Al-Ghazzālī (*d.* 1111) teaches that God, being above shape and form, cannot in fact be seen in the *ru'yat Allāh:* what appears to the dreamer

1. Cf., G. Tellenbach, *Libertas Kirche und Weltanschauung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites* (Stuttgart, 1936), p. 96 For contrast, note the dream in which Pierre Barthelemy sees Bishop Adhemar de Puy in Hell three days after his death on Aug. 1, 1098, cf , P. Alphandery and A. Dupront, *La Chretiente et l'idee de croisade* (Paris 1954-1959), I 108-109. The cliche goes back to antiquity. In the (lost) dialogues of Antisthenes (*ca* 440-370 B C), Socrates appears in their dreams to his disciples sitting by his grave and offers them instruction, cf , O. Gigon, *Grundprobleme der antiken Philosophie* (Bern and Munich, 1959), p. 80.
2. Idris, *REI* (1935), 140-141.

is a likeness, a symbol, *mithāl*.[1] The experience of being instructed through a dream is not entirely confined to the Muslim pious. The Christian philosopher Ibn Zur'a (*d.* 1008) sees in 368/978-979 his teacher Yaḥya b. 'Adī, then four years dead, in a dream during which he communicates to him certain teachings in astonishing detail.[2] Discouraging for the powerful but heartening for the simple pious is the dream in which Maḥmūd of Ghazna (998-1030) revealed his insight acquired in the next world, that his kingship had been but illusion and error. God alone rules and is worthy to rule. Having understood his impotence and confusion Maḥmūd is ashamed of having been sultan. It would have been better for him to spend his life as a beggar, now he has to account for every grain he expended.[3] The cosmic importance that the saint, in contradistinction to the king, possesses comes through in the dream in which Abū Mūsa sees the heavenly throne placed on his head. When he goes to relate the vision to his master Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (*d.* 874), he finds that the sheikh has died that very night. During the funeral Abū Mūsa, prevented by the crowd from carrying the coffin at one of its ends, puts his head under it while the procession is moving toward the cemetery. The dream had slipped his mind. Suddenly his master appears to him and says: This is the meaning of last night's dream. That heavenly throne is the body of Bāyazīd.[4]

It deserves notice that the pattern of theological argument through dreams has persisted into our own time. In Iraq, during a recent polemical exchange on problems of modernism, the Prophet appeared in a dream to one of the controversialists

1. Cf., Ritter, *Meer*, pp. 447-449, for examples of pertinent dreams and analysis of al-Ghazzālī's *Risāla fī taḥqīq ru'yat Allāh fī 'l-manām*.
2. Cf., S. Pines, "La longue recension de la theologie d'Aristote dans ses rapports avec la doctrine ismaelienne," *REI* (1954), 7-20, at p. 9, n. 2, and *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, IX (1961), 155-156.
3. Ritter, *Meer*, p. 112, after 'Aṭṭār (*d.* 1220, less reliable reports identify the year of his death as 1229 or 1234), *Manṭiq aṭ-ṭair*, ed. Garcin de Tassy (Paris, 1857), pp. 35-36.
4. Ritter, *Meer*, p. 619 (where references).

to confound the heretic in person.[1] Similarly, it was by way of a dream that in 1953 the saint whose tomb protected a market in eastern Algeria announced his consent that this market be moved to a more convenient place that the French *administrateur* had suggested.[2]

4. The dream bears on politics.—'Alqama an-Nakha'ī was told in a dream by his brother, killed in the battle of Ṣiffīn (657) that the slain Syrians (adherents of Mu'āwiya) and Iraqis (adherents of 'Alī) had argued in heaven whose cause had been the just, and God had declared for the Iraqi.[3] The approval by the community of Saladin's policies is reflected in a dream in which the Prophet is seen visiting the prince's tomb with some of his Companions.[4] When Saladin died someone heard a voice in his dream announcing: "This night Joseph left his prison."[5] Fully to appreciate this episode it must be recalled that Yūsuf (Joseph) was Saladin's given name, that Yūsuf, the Biblical Joseph, has become, in mystical thought, the symbol of divine beauty and even of the divinity dwelling in the heart of the believer, and that the liberation of the soul from the prison of the body is a favourite Sufi interpretation of death. By contarst, political action is criticized when Ibrāhīm b. Maimūn as-Ṣā'igh, after his execution by Abū Muslim, whose fellow *dā'i*, or propagandist, in the service of the Abbasids he had been, and whom he had caused difficulties by insisting on carrying out the letter of the religious law, the *sharī'a*, is seen in 'exalted dwellings,' *manāzil 'āliya*, in Paradise, whither he has been raised because of his perseverance in the Muslim duty "of enjoining the good and in-

1. Cf., J. Berque, *Les Arabes d'hier a demain* (Paris, 1960), p. 251.
2. Cf., J. H. Servier, "Essai sur les bases de l'economie traditionelle chez les Berberophones d'Algerie," *Institut de science economique appliquee Cahiers*, 106 (1960), 87-103, at pp. 102-103.
3. Cf., J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (2d ed., Berlin, 1960), p. 52, n. 2
4. Abū Shāma, *op. cit.*, II. 97.
5. ibid.

hibiting the bad", *al-amr bi'l-ma'rūf wa'n-nahy 'an al-munkar.*[1] In like fashion, after the execution of Ahmad b. Nasr in 231/845-846, the Prophet is seen in a dream ashamed that a member of his House, namely the caliph al-Wāthiq (842-847), should have perpetrated such a crime.[2]

A dream may suggest a specific political action. The Prophet's expedition in 628, undertaken to force the pilgrimage to Mecca which led to the famous treaty of al-Ḥudaibiya, was decided on the impulse of a dream.[3] Al-Mahdī (775-785) saw Yaqūb b Dā'ūd in a dream, and the caliph was advised to appoint this personage to the vizierate. When Ya'qūb was later presented to al-Mahdī, the prince is reported to have exclaimed: "This is the man who appeared in my dream !" and immediatly named him vizier.[4] Conversely, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is said to have dismissed an official because of a dream.[5] Aḥmad b Ṭūlūn, the governor and, in fact, independent ruler of Egypt from 868 to 884, is made aware by a dream of the arrival of spies sent by the caliph.[6] Another dream counsels Ibn Ṭūlūn to abolish certain 'illegal' taxes against the advice of his financial secretary.[7] At one point, a certain Ma'mar b Muhammad al-Jauharī induced Ibn Ṭūlūn to become his associate in the flax trade. After a while Ibn Ṭūlūn saw himself in a dream sucking the marrow out of some bones. The well-known interpreter, Ibn al-'Assāl, explained: "The *amīr* is running after a profit of little value not worthy of him." Thereupon Ibn Ṭūlūn withdrew his investment and distributed it to the poor.[8] The caliph al-Mu'ta-

1 Koran 3·100, Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit*, X. 68[1-7], *s a* 137/753-755
2. ibid, X 306[6-9].
3. For references to the sources, cf. W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956), p 46
4. Kocher, *op. cit.*, p 387, n. 35
5 Cf, Z M Hassan, *Les Tulunides* (Paris, 1933), p 203, n. 4.
6. ibid, p 203.
7. Cf C. H Becker, *Beitrage zur Geschichte Agyptens unter dem Islam* (Strasbourg, 1902-1903), II 196; Hassan, *op. cit*, pp 53-54.
8. ibid, p. 181

did (892-902) told his entourage that certain dreams he had seen in his youth had persuaded him never to do damage to any descendant of 'Alī.[1]

5. The dream is used as a tool of political prophecy. Particularly numerous are the instances in which the death of a ruler is foretold by a dream. Thus we learn that Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (*d. ca.* 718/719) is visited by a man who tells him that he saw in a dream the Prophet standing on the shore of the sea. He was seizing a man by his foot and spinning him around three times as the washer spins around a garment, after which he pushed him out into the ocean. Sa'īd said: "If your dream vision comes true [or: if you have seized your dream correctly], 'Abdalmalik [685-705] will die within three days." And, in fact, the caliph did die in three days. On being asked the rationale of his interpretation Sa'īd said: Moses drowned Pharaoh; and the Pharaoh of our time was none other than 'Abdalmalik.[2] On his deathbed, the caliph al-Manṣūr (754-775) tells of a dream he had before his family came to power. First his brother, then himself received a banner from the Prophet and while carrying it made a number of steps before falling to the ground. The number of steps proved to be the number of regnal years. Manṣūr, recalling the dream, realizes that his death is at hand.[3] Another type of event is foretold when in 1160 someone dreams in Mosul of the exploits against the Christians which, some day, Saladin would accomplish[4], or again in the dream in which 'Umar I announces to Abū Shāma in 1228 that he would personally lead an expedition against the Syrian coast, then held by the

1. Cf., Sourdel, *op. cit.*, I 343-344
2. Ya'qūbī (*d.* 897), *Ta'rīkh* (Beirut, 1379/1960), II. 281$^{10-15}$ Sa'īd, who, incidentally, uses *gharraqa* where the Koran employs *aghraqa*, does not refer to a particular passage but to the Koranic tale as a whole
3. ibid., II. 388^{18}-389^{1}.
4. Abū Shāma, *op. cit.*, I. 292.

Crusaders, and give its rule to a noble and brave prince[1] With this vision may be compared the dream of Shaikh 'Alī as-Sakhāwī who, on June 8, 1229, during the siege of Damascus by al-Malik an-Nāṣir, hears a voice crying: "After a month Damascus will be like unto Paradise." The forecast comes true when peace between the warring Muslim factions is restored on July 9.[2]

For the use of the dream as a political weapon the Holy Book itself had set the precedent. After the Muslim victory at Badr (March 15, 624), where some 350 believers vanquished close to a thousand heathen, Muhammad received a revelation in which God claims the merit of having brought to pass the encounter which, without His contriving, neither of the parties would have sought. In this context the Prophet is told: "[Recall] when Allah caused thee to see them in thy dream as few in number; if He had caused thee to see them as numerous ye would have been faint-hearted and vied with each other in withdrawing from the affair, but Allah kept [you] sound [in heart]. He knoweth what is in the breasts."[3] In describing the flare-up of Shī'ite activity after the death of Zaid b. 'Alī in 121/739, Ya'qūbī says: "Propagandists appeared, dream visions were seen and apocalyptic books circulated," *wa-ẓaharat ad-du'āt wa-ru'iyat al-manāmāt wa-tudūwwirat kutub al-malāḥim.*[4] The general confidence in the dream led to a good deal of "fraudulent dreaming"; obviously this could not be prevented; but it is only fair to note that the Muslims were aware of this danger, witness the story in

1 Abū Shāma, *adh-Dhail 'ala 'r-Rauḍatain*, ed Barbier de Meynard (Paris, 1898-1905) II 185, *s.a* 625/1227-1228

2 ibid, pp 189-190.

3 Koran 8 45, the passage extends from verse 43 through verse 46

4 Ya'qūbī, *op cit.*, 326[16], cf also Fahd's reminder (*op cit*, p 156, n 44), that Abbasid propaganda operated with dreams in which the Prophet confers the power on al-'Abbās (with reference to Abū Bakr al-Baihaqī [*d* 1066], *al-Maḥāsin wa'lmasāwī*, ed. F. Schwally [Giessen, 1902], p. 345).

which the qadi Abū Muḥriz observes that Abū Shaikh al-Mufassir is lying when he tells Ziyādat Allāh I, the Aghlabid ruler of the Ifrīqiya (817-838), of a dream in which he saw Gabriel kiss the hand of the *amir*.[1]

As recently as 1902, when the request for a loan from Russia was uppermost in his mind, did Muzaffar ad-Din, Shah of Persia from 1896 to 1206, ask a leading divine to interpret a dream in which he himself had appeared to the ruler. The theologian explained: "Whereas Your Majesty saw me in the primitive Moslem garb throw a sack at your feet whence flowed gold and silver, this means that my ancestor the Prophet bids you to make no fresh loans from unbelievers, but to trust for the restoration of your finances to your subjects and fellow servants of the faith." There was some disagreement at the time whether the dream had been invented by the Shah to test the feelings of the clergy.[2] (When Polybius tells of the elder Scipio, in 212 B C, relating to his mother that in a dream he had seen both himself and his brother elected to the aedileship, and when the same Scipio, two years later, encourages his soliders by presenting his plans of attack on Cartagena as inspired by a dream vision of Neptune, the historian, at least, is convinced that the Roman invented those apparitions, the success of the pretense is, however, predicated on the prevalence of an attitude similar to that of Muslim society).[3]

The difference between the Muslim outlook on the dream and our own is not discussed here in detail, especially as our attitude is implicit in the communications made to this Colloquium. Two obsevrations, are, however, in order.

1. Idris, *REI* (1935), 166
2. Great Britain, Public Record Office 0/0. F. O 60/660. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Lansdowne, Tehran, Feb 27, 1902, No 32, Secret. The writer owes knowledge of this document to Professor N R Keddie, University of California, Los Angeles, the microfilm was loaned by Professor F. Kazemzadeh, Yale University.
3. Polybius, *Historiae* X 3, 5-6, 11, 7

1. In a sense, we have less need of our dreams than had the Muslims and our forefathers. For one thing, we are no longer so deeply concerned with the Hereafter and the supernatural; better put, the borders of the 'natural' have been pushed out, and with this expansion of the rationally, even experimentally, accessible, the importance of the dream, the vision, the revelatory communication has shrunk within our daily lives and our intellectual life as well. Better knowledge and wider control of our universe have relieved us of anxieties and fears which, in many cases, the *Wahrtraum* was destined to allay. It is important to recall that as late as three and certainly four centuries ago, our psychological situation was not yet such that the dream could be dispensed with, and that the deficiencies of our scientific methods entailed more than a little uncertainty as to what could and what could not be accepted as real and as true.

2. As a result of our scientific advancement we have become able to afford a renunciation long overdue; we have been able to yield the idea that the dream is symptomatic of a reality divorced from the psychological reality of the dreamer and his society. (The progress of investigations into the paranormal stimulation of dreams does not contradict this statement.) To us, the symptomatic, revelatory, 'prophetic' significance of the dream points inward to the dreamer (and to his society), not outward into areas of reality inaccessible by rational or 'natural' means. (In fact, to many of us the existence of such areas of reality has become quite doubtful.) The dream explains and reflects, not the mind of the Prophet or the caliph 'Umar, but our own mind, its source is personal or (in the view of some) transpersonal, but, in any event, human.

To restate my conclusion. The great change that has made the dream an instrument for introspection and (collective) self-cognition, rather than an instrument for cognition of 'outside reality', has in some ways detracted, in other ways added, to its significance within our own culture. Though it is true that our concern for the dream has lessened, we have develop-

ed, beyond our interest in its medical and analytical significance, a sense of the heuristic value of the dream in cultural and cross-cultural research. Our present attitude toward ourselves and toward civilization tends to heighten our perceptiveness of the functional differentiation of common, of universal, of human phenomena in different historical and cultural contexts. To me, the favorableness of the psychological moment implies an obligation and holds the promise of sharpened insight which, to us, is its own reward.

S. K. BHARADWAJ

Eugenics in Ancient India

EUGENICS is the science which deals with influences, primarily those, admitting social control, that improves in-born or hereditary qualities in a series of generations, a race, especially human race. In short, it is the science which provides the processes and means of improving human race.

In early twenties one came across voluminous literature, mostly imported from the West, under the caption of Eugenics. No volume failed to provide copious knowledge on contraceptives. The fundamental basis on which this Western Eugenics was founded was the economic aspect of the parents. It was openly pleaded that if a couple could not financially afford a child, the child should be avoided, or they should have as few children as possible, because it was only then that the children could be provided with better food, clothing and schooling, and such children would naturally be, when grown up, better members of the society and by this way, the race would improve. The underlying principle in this suggestion obviously points out the financial aspect of the family and the child, while no other aspect of the child was thought of. Some ardent and prominent supporters of such a system of Eugenics, like Renee' Short M.P., frankly advocated Birth Control solely on economical bases in the following words :

> Birth control saves ante and postnatal costs, maternity costs and the whole range of health, education, housing and other social costs, that the birth of every new baby implies. The psychological cost to a woman of becoming pregnant against her will (*because she did not want the child. — Ed.*) cannot be qualified.

There are others like Mr. A.R. Kamat who preach the contraceptives as an advance in the matter of social impact. They express this view of theirs in the following words :

> Thus it is now possible to combine a less inhibited and, therefore, more enjoyable sex life with a planned and, therefore, a wise parenthood. To that extent the contraceptives contribute towards making family life more free, healthy and happy

The strong reason they also advance in favour of the contraceptives is expressed as :

> Nature left man free, but had so far held woman at its mercy by making her bear the consequences of cohabitation. But now contraceptive advance frees also the woman from the burden of the unwanted pregnancy. This removes, at the individual level, an important source of contradiction and tension in her relationship with man, and to that extent it strengthens, at the social level, her independence and equality with man.

Such people may feel proud by advocating equality and freedom of woman in facing man, but one is forced to ask in which field is she made to challenge man her equality and and valour — his sex life ? What an achievement and at what cost ? Does not the provision of such sure contraceptives, naturally, amount to an indirect encouragement to overindulgence in our sex life without restraint and impunity ?

To mitigate the odium attached to 'contraception' and 'birth control', a more sophisticated nomenclature of 'family planning' or 'planned parenthood' has been given to them and in order to replace the rather negative public image, suggestive of preventing births and avoiding ill-health, by the more positive and forward looking one of helping family-builders to plan to have as many children as and at whatever intervals they desired. The demographers in their studies of population growth and governments with their expert economic planners regard it as one potentially 'positive' means of population control and of improving the fate of an individual.

Recently, the perspective of improving the progeny has got totally shaded down and the economic aspect has completely gripped the societies and the nations. Fewer children means, as advocated above, less and less of financial encumbrances to the parents and more and more spare money for their other sensual pleasures, undoubtedly at the cost of their children. It is very strange that such eugenists fail to visualize the latent ill-effects of such sensual and sexy lives of the parents on the coming generations.

Ancient Indian Eugenics

Ancient Indian eugenists and genetists were well aware of the doctrine : *As you sow, so you reap.* They were fully aware that if one grew cactus, one could never reap apples. They also knew that to raise a good crop, three very important factors were essential, namely, a good soil, good mature seed and a very favourable and heatlhy environment and atmosphere.

Working on these principles, the farmer labours hard to improve the soil, by making it soft, rich in manure, etc. He also tries to obtain the best and mature seed and looks forward for a timely sunshine, rain and weather. Then he nourishes, weeds, prunes and removes all undesirable overgrowths and thus gets a rich, healthy and superior crop.

Rich with this experience of theirs, they applied the same knowledge in raising and improving their families and thus

their race. In raising a good, healthy and quality crop of their progeny they thought again of the same three essential factors : (*i*) Mother, as the soil, (*ii*) Father, as the good seed, and (*iii*) a noble and healthy social environment.

Mother

Like preparing a good and better quality soil, great stress was laid on good motherhood, and they also felt that good mother started in the early life of the girl. The little girl was given the name by the Vedas, *Kanyā*, which means, brilliant, glorious, illustrions. The idea in calling the girl with this name was to make each girl such that before she develops into motherhood, she fully blossoms physically in health, becomes radiant through proper education and knowledge, becomes dextrous, wise and dedicated to duties. She developed a high and pious moral sense by practising celibacy and subjugation of all organic temptations and sensual emotions and acquired an attitude of obligations to the family and realised all social values.

The Vedas entitle only such girls to choose a partner in life as a husband. It is the girl's fame and glory and brilliant character that would attract young, healthy, wise and pious husband. The selection of the partner is ordained by the Vedas as the birth-right of a girl and not of a boy. The choice and the qualities for marriage are advocated in the *Atharvaveda* as under :

Brahmacharyena kanyā yuvānum vindate patim. (XI.5.18)

In simple words it means : Such a girl alone is entitled to choose a young, wise and noble husband for herself after she herself has embellished with good health, rational knowledge and a conduct of perfect devotion to all wider and greater social obligations All these qualities are expressed by one word *Brahmacharya* which means greatness (*Brahma*) to conduct and function in all activities of life (*charya*). So *Brahmacharya* in-

dicates a very wide and high ideology of life of a person, and this ideology is the ideology of living beyond the sphere of self-service and a beacon to all married people. The question of self-indulgence in carnal pleasures does not arise. It is actually a life of devotion to each other, dedication to their progeny and beyond their home, to the society, nation and even to the whole human race. For this service of theirs to the mankind, Lord Manu calls the married people as very brave and courageous. He also says that the married ones are like the atmospheric air which sustains all living beings :

Yathā vāyuṁ samāśritya vartante sarvajantavah
Tathā gṛhasthamāśritya vartante sarva āshramah. (III.77.)

This means that just as all living beings are sustained by the air so do the married people support people of all walks of life in society.

Mother was given the highest position in the field of 'making' a child. It was believed that the mother was responsible not only in giving the physical or material form, features, complexion, etc. to the baby, but she also controlled the future metaphysics of the embryo. There are many historical evidences in support of this assertion. Mothers are capable of moulding the future careers of their babies in their wombs. The great young warrior Abhimanyu, son of great Arjuna, the hero of the Mahabharata war, learnt the skill of breaking through the most intricate military array — the *Chakravyuha* (the spiral strategy)—through his mother Subhadra in her womb, when her husband Arjuna explained the same to her.

More recently, it was the great determination of Caesar's mother which moulded him into a great person when he was in her womb. It is a well-known fact that when her baby could not be delivered in the normal way and her obstetricians declared that they would deliver him by only killing him to save the queen, the queen mother insisted on delivering the

child safely, by having her belly and the womb cut open because she argued that she had already moulded him to be a great king. As ordered by the queen, Caesar was delivered by cutting open the belly and the womb of his mother. Since then deliveries by this method are called 'Caesarian Operation'. The world knows that the child, under the guidance of his mother, became a very mighty king in his later life.

Again, we all know that if Shivaji rose to his great glory, it was due to his great mother Jija Bai. It was the wise and unflinching determination and guidance of his mother which let him not falter and conducted him through most difficult situations and struggles in his life. Shivaji was, in short, 'made' by his mother — the *mātā* — the maker in the real sense of the term.

Another ancient and authentic sage Yājnavalkya in his renowned work Śatapata (XIV.5.8.2), for building a good race and a noble progeny, strongly holds:

Yathā mātṛmān pitṛmān āchāryamān puruṣo brūte.

That is : Call that person a wise and pious person, who had a healthy, righteous and prudent mother, a wise and noble father and a learned and holy preceptor in his early life.

This work also expresses what great impact the mother can make with her prolonged physical and early contact with child. The author uses *mātṛmān* for possessing a *mātā* or mother, when there are other synonyms for the word mother like *ambā*, *jananī*, etc. These latter words only mean one who generates or gives birth, while *mātṛ* bears great significance. This word is a derivative of the root *mān* which means *māne*, to measure and put value to. So *mātṛ* means, the one who 'makes' the child such that he or she would be well measured or valued or esteemed in society. It is through the mother's early efforts that the child would develop the moral values in society.

It is said that a child is made or unmade in the cradle, but according to us the child is made or unmade in the uterine bed (the mother's womb), nay! even in the childhood of its parents. How subtle was the vision of our geneticists. It is mentioned in one of our ancient medical books that once a great medical student Agniveṣa prayed to his preceptor, the greatest physician of his time, sage Atri, to teach him the science of obstetrics and gynaecology, because, we are told, he said:

Nāryo mūlaṁ apatyānām.

Women (mothers) are the real roots, the foundation, of the progeny on which the future of the child depends.

Lord Manu, the great and the primary law-giver of India, declared that if a father's role was a hundred times that of the teacher, mother's role was a thousand times that of the father. We quote:

Upādhyāyān dasāchārya āchāryāṇām śatam pitā,
Sahasram tu pitṛnmātā, gauraveṇa ite richyate. (II.145.)

So this is the role played by the mother according to their observations.

Father

As mentioned above, father is the seed, the activator, the promoter of the progeny. Just as a healthy and mature seed renders a rich and abundant crop with the help of a good soil, a healthy, mature and noble paternal seed is essential for a strong, pious and noble progeny This genetic, physiological and social doctrine was well known to us long long ago and that is the reason why great stress was laid on celibacy and a pious and noble husband is recommended by the Vedas to the girl whom she should select. The donation of seed by

the father, like the mechanical transmission of pollen by the insects in the plant life, was not thought enough in the case of improving the human race. They knew well that the paternal germ cells carried in them the physical and other biological heredity into the child. They also knew that these germ cells also carried in them parent's various other subtle traits and the essence of their morals.

The modern genetists are labouring hard to find and decipher the various components of the germ cell which pass on the heredity. They have found out that heredity passes through certain ribbon-like double helix called D. N. A. (Deoxyribonucleic acid) which form the genes of the germ cell, and they are actually supposed to be the heredity units, which specify the structure of one of the vital biological components of the cell which again are proteins from the food, in minute forms called enzymes or structural proteins. All these efforts have been limited to the biological and the somatic stratum, but are far distant from the metaphysical or social inheritance of the child. If the germ cell can transfer the shape, size, complexion, etc., of the parents to the child and again if it can transmit their finer attributes like art, science, music and other traits and likes and dislikes to the coming child, why will the germ cell not transfer the moral or immoral attitudes of the parents? This is the reason our ancestors laid great stress on the piety, nobility and health of the parent for begetting an improved race.

The father's duty does not end after donating the seed. His duty does not complete with providing food, clothes and schooling to the child. In the early part of its life, the child has contact and company of its mother, but after some time the child needs a wider guidance which can best be provided by the father. It is really a pity that in the present set up of the society, children are completely deprived of this most essential guidance. In the West, which, unfortunately, our country is blindly copying, the condition of the children is worse. Their parents are too busy either in bread-winning or

in their greed trying to grab more and more material wealth for the gratification of their sensual pleasures. The present day fathers think that their duty ends with providing their children with food, clothing and literacy. Actually the child feels happier, though poor, if it has a warm and affectionate homely atmosphere. When king Yudhishthira asked what was heavier than earth and loftier than the Himalaya for protection, he replied:

> Weightier than earth is mother and loftier than Himalaya is father, for the protection and upbringing of the children.

In this answer is hidden the principle of eugenics. One finds in these days that the children are actually starved of this valuable association of the parents, specially of the father. Because they are totally neglected in this respect and deprived of such early and essential association and affectionate guidance of their father, they are led astray by the forceful desires and emotions to deliquency and violence and it is this negligence which is the fundamental cause of the juvenile delinquency which one painfully finds rampant in the teenagers of today. This is the type of human race and society they are developing in the West and that is why, as the adage goes, they are 'paying through their nose'. It is a pity that owing to the pancity of paternal care, the youth of our country is tempted to take to the behaviour of their counterpart in the West. The modern society is becoming more and more violent and criminal in disposition, with the growth of such a morbid element in its body politic.

The youth of today are violent, restless, explosive and drug-addict, due to lack of their fathers' association and guidance which would have helped in shaping and driving their psyche through proper channel. The rich fathers have hardly any time to spare from their own enjoyments which they would not sacrifice for the sake of their children whom they compensate by providing them enough money. The inquisitive

and the developing mind of a child, right from the early tender age to adolescence and even later, needs a proper conductor to widen its social sphere and adjustment. Who could guide him best except his kind father?

The age of adolescence is most fragile, sensitive and dangerous in the life of a child and requires great prudence, patience and perseverance on the part of the father. This is the age, when the gonads (the sex glands) which were so far dormant in the child's body are awakening and thus played no part. The child is now passing through a stage, when he is neither a little child nor an adult. He is developing a sense of self-respect and with it a little vanity or ego, which can be rented with slightest mishandling and misunderstanding. He now wants to assert himself, first at home and then in his society, and is thus developing self-confidence. This is the time when his father, who is actually the overlord of the family, has to handle him with great care, caution and affection. He is not to throttle the child's ego but has to channelize his emotional and physiological forces in proper direction not by bossing over or suppression but by suggestion and reasoning. Giving once liberty to the child for his psychic development, the father should always keep his benevolent eye on his child and be ready to help him in his various problems. Such kind, affectionate and wise advices and suggestions of the father can never go fruitless and such well-guided children never go astray. They will have no pent-up force in their future life. On the other hand, they lead a rational, noble, well-balanced and happy life themselves and become the cause of happiness to the society. One actually shudders to reflect how few are such lucky children who have such wise and painstaking fathers in these days. Parents who in the real sense *plan their families* and beget healthy, happy and noble progeny for the society are extremely rare to day.

Environment

Just as a tiny seedling, after bursting out of the womb of the

mother eart h, looks forward for a bright sunshine, a warm and fresh atmosphere, so does a tiny human being, when born out of its mother's womb, require a warm and affectionate family atmosphere, and a healthy social environment for its healthy growth. A delicate sprout or a sapling that grows under a hard stone or in dark shade is unlikely to be healthy and becomes stunted. The same is true about the little child. Man, besides his physiological aspect, has also a psychic one Being at the highest rung of the biological ladder, man has the greatest intelligence, mental emotions and the ego. He is a social animal and has always liked to live together and thus make a society. Because society is a collection of individuals to keep and make the society clean and healthy, it becomes incumbent to improve the individual from his early life. Our ancestors had realised this simple social doctrine and reared each individual child rich or poor, on it. Each society for its well-being and growth lays down certain social codes, which vary from society to society and country to country. The variations in these social laws depend on the philosophy of life which in turn is projected in social laws of that particular society or nation.

In the eyes of the Indian sociologists, no individual is an independent entity. Each one is tied down to the other through pervasive mutual attraction like the cosmic omnipresent force of mutual attraction found between the tiniest atom components right up to the greatest planets in the cosmos. They were cognisant of the fact that the whole universe was sustained on this cosmic mutual pull. They thus laid their social base on this common pull. Each person however small or great, was made to have common interest and regard for each other. Nobody was independent as far as the social interests and welfare were concerned. These social doctrines were inspired in them by the Vedas, because the Vedas called the society by the name of *Viṣṇu* and *Yajña*. *Viṣṇu* means *āpnoti vyāpnoti iti viṣṇu*—the phenomenal force that pervades everywhere. The word *Yajña* which is derived from

the root *Yaja* implies the sense of *devapūjā*—mutual deep regard, *sangati karaṇa*—strong synthesis and *dāneṣu*—various sacrifices and contributions in different fields.

The Vedas again describe the society and the whole cosmos by one word *Puruṣa* which means the body of a living being. Figuratively the Vedas ordain that the society be constructed on the principle of 'all for one and one for all', just as every cell in the body works on this basis. Each cell lives and functions to make the whole body live and function in health. Again *Yajña*, described in the Vedas, also teaches the same collective functioning of the people to obtain the greatest good for the greatest number of people. No single person can perform the *Yajña*; at least six persons are required to perform it collectively and dedicatedly. *Yajña*, therefore, indicates the principle on which the society is to function *collectively, dedicatedly and benevolently.*

The greatest problem to-day is how to improve the individual, the unit of the society. The present-day solution offered to improve the child is based merely on economics, which is unfortunately fallacious. It is wrong to conceive that an individual can develop to be a better unit of the society if he is fed on better food, covered with better clothes and provided with better knowledge, and therefore fewer they are, better they will be. Providing the child with more and more of material comforts will naturally increase his demands for material affluence. Thus it corrupts a man more and more because he becomes more greedy, sensual, selfish, vain, aggressive and is prone to become a dangerous beast, singly or collectively as a society or even a nation. *Yajurveda* explicitly expresses this in these words:

> *Andham tamah pravishanti ye avidyām upāsate,*
> *Tato bhūya iva te tamo ya u vidyāyām ratāḥ.* (XL.12.)

It means: If ignorance and lack of knowledge lead a person to darkness, it is also certain that pure material knowledge

and one's involvement in it will lead him, without doubt, to still darker mental dungeons and miseries in life.

The Bible, also, while it shuns poverty, abhors great riches, as in these strong words :

> Two things have I required of thee,
> deny me them not before I die,
> remove far from me vanity and lies.
>
> Give me neither poverty nor riches
> feed me with food convenient for me.
>
> Lest I be full, and deny thee;
> and say, Who is the Lord?
> Or lest I be poor, and steal,
> and take the name of my God in vain.
>
> (Proverbs, XXX. 7-9)

Again,

> And again I say unto you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God (Mathew, XIX.24.)

> There are three things that are never satisfied
> Yea, four things say not, it is enough:
> The grave, the barren womb, the earth that is not filled with water. (*Bible*, XXX. 15, 16.)

It is the fear of pregnancy which works as an inhibition or a check in the passions of a woman, but in case of a barren womb where there is no fear of pregnancy, the woman will never say enough. Do not the contraceptives make the woman barren temporarily and this barren womb will never say enough. Thus, the fear of conception gone, with the help of contraceptives, the passions in woman are bound to know

no end. That is what the Bible means.

On the other hand knowing all these evil consequences our ancient genetists advocated that for the well-being and the uplift of the human race, the parents had to prepare the foundation, before the seed of the future child was laid. First of all each child must be a 'desired child'. One is amused to find in the West also to-day when they preach and cry out the slogan '*every child* a wanted baby'. But there is a world of difference in the basis and the ideology of this Western gospel and our conception that every child should be a desired child. The modern eugenists preach that the parents may indulge in the carnal desires to their fill, under the protection of the mechanical, chemical or biological contraceptive methods provided to them, and if and when they feel financially strong enough to afford a baby, they may have a baby. This they call 'every baby a wanted baby'. They fail to stop for a while to ponder what the coming baby would inherit from that long sensual life the parents had been indulging in. Perhaps these genetists believe that to think about the psyche or the moral side of the coming child is beyond the scope of their eugenics, and the priests or the moralists of the society will take care of the sensual bent of the growing mind of the child. But the common observation is that the gratification of personal, carnal desires can never make a man look beyond his own self. As long as his personal outlook prevails, these cries of various types of socialisms and democracies will always fall on deaf ears and the selfish individual will never part with any of his possessions at his cost for the sake of the society or nation and that is why the governments feel the need to make such legislations as to empower them to snatch or usurp the individual's possessions by force. So the mentality of dedication and detachment in any individual is to be nourished from the very beginning and not based on economics, nor based on the fear of too many children but on broader social base. Besides, advocating contraceptives amounts to the preaching

of 'race suicide'. Visualizing in advance such evils which could be the result of the philosophy of individualism, so prevalent in the West, the child was reared and moulded, in ancient India, on the principle of social cohesiveness and broadening of individual's mind. The first word uttered in the ear of the new-born was *Om* or *Brahma*—God or the cosmos. The first food it tasted with a little honey was *Om* again. The idea of writing the word *Om* on its tiny tongue with a probe (usually golden) is as if to imprint this philosophy of universal partnership on the baby from the start. As the child grew, this ideology of his being not an individual but a part, first of a family, then of a society, nation, human race and then of this whole wide world, was instilled in him. To make him feel that it was tied down to bigger issues of society each child through a social ceremony is made to wear a 'Sacred Thread' (*Yajñopavitam*) on his body forever, always reminding him that he is bound to various social laws, beneficial to the society. Through this thread the child is vowed to live a pious life of austerity. The Thread gave the child a social status, because it reminded him that he was no more an individual but the unit of a bigger whole. This child was called a *dvija*—the twice born, because he had its first birth when he had the birth of his body from its mother and now he was born again a second time, with a different outlook of life, from the individual to the universal. For this outlook of universalism of his he was called *Brahmachāri*.

He was taught the philosophy of *Aham Brahma asmi*—I am the great whole and I am to replenish this whole, and am not a tiny self. He was given the vision of *Tat Tvam Asi*—'Thou art that whole', not a little individual, encircled or bound down to this fleshy cage. With this beacon of social or cosmic vision he was to mould himself and cast off or dissolve his individualism into the vast homogeneous *Oneness*! It is to bring the individual into the satisfactory and homogeneous relation with the life of the universe around him and thus make him attain the spirit of Oneness—*Ekatvam*. All the

teachings of the Vedas, Upanishads, Vedānta, etc. lead one to develop this sense of Oneness, the *Advaitam*. How beautifully the *Yajurveda* (XI.7) expresses the happiness and bliss one would attain after developing this feeling of 'Oneness' or *Ekatvam* :

Yasmin sarvāni bhūtāni ātmaiva abhut vijānataḥ
Tatra ko mohaḥ kaḥ śokah ekatvam anupashyatah.

It means: When one realizes and develops a psychosis that all animates are nothing but he, all merged into *One* where then exists for him any illusion, any sorrow or misery (because there is no second to be afraid of or be jealous of) ?

The Vedas thus direct man from Plurality to Unity or *Ekatvam* (*Eka* means One).

Education of Children

Great stress is being laid on educating children all over the world. Education literally means to bring up a child or a person physically, mentally and socially. It is distressing to observe that in spite of providing more and more schools and colleges, the students, all over, are getting more and more frustrated, indisciplined, destructive and violent. This clearly shows that the education imparted to them is defective and is based on wrong objective. The young with the present education are rather becoming more lust-minded, sexy, passionate and easy-going and are thus becoming desirous of procuring more and more for the gratification of their fleshy ambitions. The knowledge which they receive in schools and colleges is only a knowledge of letters and not the real wisdom and discipline, because real knowledge, as described in the Vedas, is :

Vidyayā amṛtam ashnute (*Yajurveda*, LX.14)

That is, it should lead man to lasting bliss.

The concept of the modern education is to obtain some kind of knowledge to win bread and other needs. This sort of knowledge in reality was called *Arthakari Vidyā* and was supposed to be taken as inferior, because the dimensions of such a knowledge was limited only to the belly and the body.

The education, to be well understood, was personified as a goddess—*Sarasvati*—by our forefathers. She is conceived as enthroned on a large lotus flower in a lake, adorned with a golden crown and possessing four arms and hands. She holds in her one hand a book, a rosary of beads in the other and with her other two hands, she is playing on a beautiful musical string instrument called Vīṇā. According to our ancient teachers knowledge was projected figuratively as described above. Possessing book knowledge is not real knowledge. The conception of rosary indicates that just as all the beads in a rosary are bound together by a common thread, and just as each bead pushes or propels the next one to make the rosary move, real education should also teach each individual to feel that he or she is bound to each other in society and it is the unfailing duty of each individual to push the other to progress and prosperity and thus move the society forward in all fields. It is only then that society can progress and flourish. This system of education reveals the doctrine of mutual coordination and help which in modern terminology is called 'collective cooperation'. To beautifully explain the attainment of the synthesis of book theory and the coordination of the beads, she is shown as playing on the string instrument. The playing on the Vīṇā or any musical instrument requires these two aspects of knowledge, the theory of a particular musical tune, its rhythm and pitches and the practice of thorough coordination of one's hands and fingers to generate that melodious music on the string. With the evolving of such lovely melody, both the player and the listeners get so much absorbed in that single tune that at that moment they will lose their individuality and get tied mentally to each other with the single force

of that melody and their ego vanishes and all become 'One' unit.

It is this Oneness or social consciousness the Vedas preach and it is only then that the Vedas avow that there will be 'no mine' and 'no thine', 'no haves' and 'no have-nots'. There will then be a common pain or a common pleasure, no enmity and no wars. It leads to all bliss and all happiness and it is heaven even on this mother earth. It was to this univeral consciousness, the *Brahmatva*, that the ancient Indian educationalists and socialists aimed at, and they were strong in their views that it was only through such an education that the individual and the society could improve. To awaken these social morals, the mothers, the fathers and the *Āchāryas* (Preceptors) laboured hard. It is as a result of this deeply ingrained culture and philosophy of this country that Indians even to-day are accepted by others as the most hospitable and peace-loving people.

One hears so much of socialism, communism or democracy to-day, but one fails to find socialism in its true sense. In the so-called socialistic countries, there is one person or party that rules either by dictatorship or through personal cult. One finds that the advocates of socialism themselves live in boundless bounties. Socialism is only limited to political slogans and cries. They are only the catch-words for personal gains. Even in the democratic States, one fails to find *cratis* (strength) in the *demos* (the people). It is the mighty dollar or the majestic sterling that governs the people. They do not produce and provide what they profess and preach. The result is that the condition of the people deteriorates more and more and one cannot help quoting the Upanishadic truth in these words:

Avidyāyām antare vartamānāḥ, svayam dhīrā
Pandita manyamānāh . . . pariyanti mūdhāḥ
(*Muṇḍaka*, I. ii.8)
Andhenevane-nīyamānā yathā andhāḥ.

The Upanishad says: The fate of the people, whose guides think themselves wise and competent but are really ignorant and blinded by selfish motivation, is just similar to those blind men whose leader, actually blind, professes to the poor blind that he possessed eyes and vision, and leads those helpless to fall into great sufferings.

The real socialist practises what he preaches and his philosophy is not for the public and the press, but for his own person, like Mahatma Gandhi who lived with his poor people and died for them.

The definition of a *Mahatma*—Great Soul—is *Manasyekam vachasyekam karmanyekam mahātmanām*. That is, Mahātma is he who thinks the same, speaks the same and practises the same.

Ancient Indian culture is based on real Socialism. Every thing belongs to the commune or the society, even one's own children. Parents were only the custodians to preserve and develop them. The society took charge of the child even before its inception, in the form of a social ceremony called *Garbhādhāna* At every step of the physical and mental development of the child, the society stepped in as in, for example, name-giving ceremony (*Nāmakaraṇa*), first shaving (*Choodāmaṇi*), starting the first cereal food to the child (*Annaprāshan*), starting the education (*Vedārambha*) ceremonies, etc. The children or their parents could do nothing without the society and its sanctions. During the student life, the child, poor or rich, was made to live a life of austerity and penance, because the philosophy of making each child to live in hardship was to teach him the doctrine of social equality and to purge from his mind the feeling, if any, of prestige and position.

This social structure was based on the teaching of the Vedic hymn which advises ·

Samāni prapā sah i vo annabhāgāḥ (*Atharvaveda*, III. 30. 6).

One Veda ordains through this that every person has a claim

to proper food, drinks, knowledge, equal status and privilege in society. No person is a privileged person in the eyes of the Vedas. The Puruṣa Sūkta of the Vedas personifies the society, as the body of a person in which every part, every organ, nay every cell is pervaded by a common impulse of life. No part is separated or segregated and useless or inferior. Can a person with head filled with knowledge, arms that are strong, belly that is full and fatty, do his normal and active life, if he is deprived of his feet, for example? He shall have to make some arrangement, though artificial, to make his sustenance and locomotion as his feet, which, though physically situated at the lowest position in the body, are very essential for the body to move and progress. Similarly every person in the society is essential and requires proper care and treatment. That is what the Vedas preach by explaining the society personified as the body of a man. The Vedas on the same principle of mutual regard and coordination describe the cosmos too as a person's body—*Purusa.*

It is most unfortunate that the modern educationists and eugenists have totally lost vision of the child itself. They are advocating and implementing ways to improve its exterior, but not its interior! Producing lesser number of children is based on this outlook of improving the exterior, this body, the clothes and generating other carnal desires in it. But who cares and worries about its interior self! The western society, in general, values the material wealth most, which is a means of improving the exterior of a person, not the interior, because high living leads to low thinking. We disciplined our children in the past on the diagonally opposite doctrine of *low living and high thinking.*

The other reason for raising fewer children amounts to save more money, which naturally is to be used for other sensual pleasures. The consummation of marriage in their eyes is secondary and not the primary object of married life. The writer, while once working in Vienne, on the various systems of contraceptives, which are now glorified as means of

Family Planning, asked the top brass of the Hospital his views regarding the power and ability of the paternal germ cell in transferring, besides the morphology, taste and traits, likes and dislikes, the sensual greed, the sex indulgence and other moral and immoral behaviour of the parents to their children. It was extremely astonishing and disappointing when that great man so frankly and honestly confessed that *they had not thought about the child so far.* It was also a frank admission that when they were advocating and educating the young people to use the contraceptives, they were on the one hand helping to control the financial encumbrances of the society by preventing the coming of new babies and on the other helping the people to quench their sex thirst to their fill, freely and without impunity. This was the social service they were rendering to the society. At the same time they confessed that they did not care to foresee what immoral or sensual influence their indulgence would bear on the coming child, if it ever came.

In this country of ours, once proudly proclaimed as *Puṇya Bhūmi*, the Holy Land, the Government, in this field, is working precisely on the western pattern and is either blind to the moral implications or is determined to ruin our country's traditions and culture. To them, perhaps, nothing seems to be good and noble or worth inculcating of what existed in our past, though they are never tired of telling others about our rich and high heritage. For them, in practice, every thing of our lofty past is nothing but filthy, choking, social drains, decaying and stinking social systems. One is reminded of a Miss Mayo who, politically motivated, was sent to our country to make an assessment of our country and people and who after a cyclonic tour of this sub-continent made most filthy and obnoxious remarks in her book *Mother India* and about whom Gandhiji, when asked, only mentioned, "a Drain Inspector only looks at the drains of the town". There seems to be many Indian Miss Mayos in our country to-day, to whom nothing appeals of what is purely our own.

The problem of scarcity of food to be provided to more and more of coming children is nothing but a myth. Perhaps the food problem is due to mismanagement. We have several bumper crops year after year, and the government itself has proudly called it a 'Green revolution', but in spite of the abundance of food, the food and with it most other essential commodities are becoming scarce and costlier. The only explanation for this is mishandling and mismanagement. They may say that they do not have enough and proper food to supply to the mouths of the children, but have they ever pondered over what filthy and immoral food they have been providing to the ears and eyes of these children through their various mass-media like Radio and films? Our film industry is busy corrupting the youth with sizzling scenes of cabaret dances, lewd gestures, capering heroes and hip-swinging heroines. No wonder it is the greatest factor of youth alienation —cheaply exposed female body causing great embarrassment to the seer. The producers falsify reality and demonstrate an irresponsible adolescence.

It is a matter of great tragedy that our mothers, under the present western system of education and other media provided to them, have completely lost their sense of proportion as far as their essential role in the upbringing of their progeny is concerned ! The well-to-do parents who can afford to have more children restrict them more for their own indulgence. They prefer material gains to their children. It is a pity that a child of to-day is seldom a desired child. It is unfotunately the result of an 'accident' in the 'planning of their family'. They spend money and make all efforts to undo the result of this 'accident' even at the cost of health and the life of the mother, but if efforts fail, they have to accept the coming child as an unfortunate 'must'.

How repugnant and nauseating one feels to hear repeatedly the cheap, vulgar and embarrassing slogans on the All India Radio Government's family planning propaganda made through the mouths of the father and the mother in these

shameful words :

Nā bābā, dūsarā bachchā abhi nahi aur teen ke bād kabhi nahi.

Oh ! no ! no second child yet and never the third one.

Besides this and other radio slogans, the Government puts up huge, conspicuous and cheap placards at various eye-catching cross-roads in cities and towns which the tiny tots never fail to observe and make inquisitive enquiries about from their embarassed parents. The Government is proudly spending millions of rupees on this useless machinery of family planning because the 1971 census has revealed a very high percentage of increase in our country's population, in spite of the powerful media at their command.

If the present 'family planning system' has not served its purpose, it certainly has been the cause of a sex-awakening effect in the sensitive and absorbing minds of children at a very early age, and the Government is perhaps blind to visualize what momentum of sex consciousness develops in children through such direct sex propaganda. Again, the Broadcasting network of the Government is creating promotion of sex emotions in children and the young by providing them cheap, vulgar and directly suggestive love themes, love songs, on its daily broadcasts which the children love to cling to whole time.

One wonders whether Government's Medical Directorate has also lost vision of the physiology of the growth of children and does not care to put its foot down and stop such propaganda. They definitely know that till certain age in the development of a child the gonads (the sex glands) or the reproductory system are kept totally dormant by the body system,so that the baser or the skeletal part of the body — like the bones, muscles, nerves and other various organs — attains full growth. After the body is grown enough, the sex glands slowly wake

up in stages and start playing their role. If the sex glands are provoked and stimulated by strong sex-awakening-emotions, as mentioned above, at an early age, the basic growth of the child is stunted and develops early maturity. This is one of the main reasons why the children of to-day usually do not grow to the size and height of their parents. Food may be mentioned as one of the causes for this stunted growth, but early coming to action of these sex hormones is the primary cause of the inhibited growth. One would wish that the Government takes note of this important fact seriously.

Again, it is this early coming to action of the sex glands, at the tender and delicate age that causes imbalance in the body and mind of the child. It makes it more emotional, passionate and violent Baser body is the insulation for the strong, mental, emotional, potential forces. High potential electric current requires stronger insulation. The same is true in the body system. High emotional potentials require fully grown, strong baser body. The weak and tender body of the child cannot stand those strong mental emotions which naturally lead to explosions as violence, crime, etc. They are the product of imbalanced relation between the *soma* (body) and the *psyche* (the mind).

Again, from the very early age the child joins a school, he is fed on romantic stories of kings and queens or princes and princesses. The child is indirectly made to understand the relation of husband and wife through such stories. One fails to understand why the educationists of this country do not boldly revolt against such a system of education and try to instil in the minds of the little ones a more healthy and inspiring direction. It is the duty of the educationists to project a clean, healthy and inspiring perspective before the Government and give proper lead in this direction.

The children born and brought up under the present social set up are bound to have more affinity to strong physical desires and, if not satisfied, they are bound to make them restless, miserable and prone to mental casualities. The

demands of the youth of to-day have tremendously increased and the desire to work hard is a matter of bygone days, and the sense of duty is fast vanishing. Every child and the young are craving for more and more to feed their unsatisfied senses, and because the society and the country cannot provide them, it leads to frustration and violence. One would not blame the children and the young for such a mentality; it is we who have brought them up in such a sensual environment in these 25 years of freedom.

The social atmosphere we have provided them is totally based on the imported western civilization and culture. It is very rightly said : "As you sow, so you reap", and it is also very truly said "we sow the wind and reap the whirlwind". One can vividly observe the truth of these adages in the western societies, where juvenile delinquency is so prominently rampant. America, one of the richest countries in the world, with all her material advancement and possession needs the largest quantities of tranquilizers. It is she who gave birth to Hippies as a reaction to too much indulgence. It is she who is providing 'hot lines' for her miserable, psychically misfit youngsters to solve their mental agonies in spite of all they possess. The 'Hare Rama Hare Krishna' cult is another demonstration of complete deviation from their material saturation and repugnance. Viewing the present conditions, Mr. Marshall Loch, one of the great modern sociologists of America advocates "a strong and prompt demand of reordering of American society, its priorities and a considerable shift in the individual Amerian psyche." (*Times*, July 1972).

India, every one says, has a very rich and lofty heritage. Why should we not revive our own systems to grow and guide our dear children ? Why not protect them from the ruinous, violent whirlwind of the West, spreading towards us. It is high time we should think over it. It requires a little courage to break away from the apron-string of the West. It is obvious that the advances made by the West in the fields of Science and Technology are very great and very attractive but

it is also very true that they have totally failed to bring peace and perpetual happiness to mankind. Rather the West has become a slave and sufferer at the hands of science. It has made man more possessive, proud and personal and violent. In a short span of man's history of a quarter of a century (1914 -39) it has brought two world wars and is threatening a third one, which will be most devastating. So such knowledge and science pertaining to matter has been rightly condemned by the Vedas as we have already seen. The Vedas further stress on developing an outlook of life beyond one's own self, and such wide-scope conduct will reward one with greater pleasure and solace and it is only then that one shall view everyone with an eye of a benevolent friend : *Mitrasya Chakṣusā Samīkṣmahe* (*Yajurveda*, XXXVI. 18). Once this stage is evolved in man, the Vedas further guide him to the sphere where there remains no illusion and bondage (*moha*) and no sorrows (*śoka*) in him In him the plurality vanishes and unity or feeling of Oneness prevails. "He is then 'All', and 'All is he' ". In this dictate of the Vedas and in this evolution of man, Indian eugenics end. It leads to the goal of Universal friendship, love, happiness and bliss, to which the Vedas guide and which India preached and practised. India always believed and attempted to evolve a man to a superman — a *devatā* The present socialism and its propaganda through high-sounding slogans and verbose jargons must be radically directed to more fruitful methods. Man is to be weaned off promptly and forcefully from his present misconceived, shortlived pleasures derived through his flesh, the misguided bliss of sex and love. Some say sex-urge is noble and mean, thrilling and painful, good or bad or both. But this urge which is like the tidal waves of youth requires regulation and control before it breaks and destroys. Today, unfortunately, due to this uncontrolled urge, man is killing himself and his race through the high-sounding slogans of 'family planning'—the *Nirodh*.

We are conscious of the fact that these ideas may be

labelled as utopian, impracticable, out of date, out of time to the modern man, and talking of morals is strangulating and suffocating to the young who would naturally hate it but the facts will ever remain as bitter facts and home truth as far as the steep degradation of mankind goes.

We do know that *soma* (body) and *psyche* (soul) have to go together, but what we want to stress is that *soma* which is a means for *psyche* to improve with should not enslave the psyche and become its overlord. It is the right lord. It is rightly said in the Bible :

> No man can serve two masters, you will either hate the one and love the other, or hold to one and despise the other.
> (Mathew, VI. 24; Luke, XVI. 13)

One, therefore, cannot serve both *soma* and *psyche* together and equally. One has to choose one, and naturally the *psyche* before it is 'killed', and the consequence of such a state is described by the Vedas as:

> *Andham tamaḥ pravishanti ye ke cha Atmahano janāh*
> (*Yaju*, XL. 3).

That is, those who 'kill' their soul (*psyche*) or conscience enter the darkest regions of future life and sufferings.

We proclaim to the world of our rich and lofty heritage but how many of our leaders, who manage the affairs of our country, know it or care to study it. Do we tell our Youngsters something about it and make them to be proud of it in the real sense. We have completely failed in this respect. That is why our young folk look to the western system and its culture more dearly and are going astray from our own so called rich heritage. One may frankly say that our leaders have a total paucity of knowledge about our heritage or they suffer from chronic inferiority complex and have lost the grit or boldness to present the greatness of our country and

culture, and are meek to present it before our own generation. Culture does not mean to begin with songs and end in dances.

The present world shows the symptoms of acute mental sickness and is seeking the ways for perpetual peace for the individual and the race. We claim that it is Indian culture based on Vedic teaching, which, if properly presented in its true perspective before the world, shall give that solace and will emancipate the human race from suffering and destruction. It requires boldness and wisdom and great effort on our part to give a proper turn to our present social outlook and we are certain it can soon become a world-wide homogeneous society if it is made to spread by powerful social and political osmosis.

America, the most opulent and material country, is already showing signs of revertion to religion. "The need for sacredness is being satisfied by adoption of oriental religions and by a return to the Indian culture of natural food," says Mr. Tean Francois Revel in his book, *Without Marx or Christ*. There is a new revolution arising in America to-day, which according to him, offers the only possible escape for mankind—the acceptance of technological civilization as a means and not an end. So it is urgently needed to reshape the concept of present civilization, before it annihilates man, and it is only then a *Homo Novus* (New Man) will be evolved—that is a man of peace and pleasures.

Epilogue

In reshaping the concept of the present civilization and evolving a *Homo Novus* (New Man), we cannot help but assert that this can only be achieved when the man is moulded, from his very inception, on the principles advocated by Indian eugenics. We make this bold claim because the boundaries of Indian eugenics go beyond the child, to its generators—the parents. It is they who sow their seed, the nature and the quality of which, will obviously depend on their own life.

Secondly, the concept of marriage was based on two holy principles, namely the couple to bear all the obligations of the society (and therefore the marriage was called *Vivāha*) and to augment the society by producing children worthy of it. They reared each child, strictly on high social morals and duties (called *dharma*) with complete control on his personal needs, emotions and passions. In this way they observed the simple principle of economics, that is, "if you look after your pennies well the pounds will look after themselves". That is why they laid great stress on saving the child from all evils and made him the master of his senses (*jitendriya*) through practice and penance.

The parents and later on the preceptor felt it as their pious and primary duty to educate and guide the child on such social principles that his tiny and selfish bud (because each child is born instinctively selfish for its own preservation) gradually opens to a full blossom so that his life vision gradually develops to panoramic dimensions.

The Vedas, unlike Buddhism and Jainism, fully permit man to enjoy material pleasures and achieve all kind of prosperities. The *Yajurveda* says :

> *Vayam syāma patayo rayiṇām* (X. 20)
>
> Aspire to be the masters of great worldly possessions and acquire prosperity.

But as key to enjoy these pleasures it advises :

> *Tena tyaktena bhunjithā* (XL. 1)
>
> Enjoy what you possess but with total detachment.

Gītā exemplifies the same philosophy of life in the following words :

> *Padmapatra iva ambhasa* (V. 10)

That is, enjoy as the lotus leaf lives and thrives in water but yet so detached from it that it is never wet.

It is most unfortunate that the present eugenists and advocates of 'family planning' only advise controlling the number of children to improve the mind and fate of man, and thus society and the nation. Children brought to this world as a by-product of the prolonged sex indulgence of the parents will be many times more sensual and selfish and would have endless needs to gratify desires. Socialism cannot be grafted on such persons. Socialism is to be germinated, nurtured and grown in the minds of people from very early age.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT

Thoughts on God's Creative Activity

THE conception of God's work of creation, especially in Western thought, has been unduly affected by identification with Aristotle's First Cause. When the world is regarded as a causal process in which each event is caused by factors in the immediately preceding situation, one must suppose either that there is an infinite regress of causes or that the causal process begins at some point through the action of an uncaused First Cause. To astronomers and other physical scientists up to the beginning of the present century idea of such a First Cause had many attractions. Some believers in God likewise felt that this was a reasonable way of reconciling religious and scientific truth, though others realized that the identification of God with First Cause might suggest to the ordinary man that God set the world agoing and then took no further interest in it. The frequent assertion in the Qur'ān that "God merely says to a thing 'Be' and it is" can also be interpreted to mean that God is only responsible for the initial creation of things, and then allows them to continue existing according to the laws implicit in their creation. This aspect of Qur'ānic teaching was developed by certain later Ash'arite theologians, who made use of arguments about the First Cause and unmoved Mover and the need for avoiding an

infinite regress.

In the Qur'ān itself, however, there was much more emphasis on God's continuing creative activity in the world at every moment. This aspect received much attention from the earlier Ash'arite theologians and others. Their theory, known in its extreme form as 'occasionalism', was that in every moment of time God created afresh every body with the attributes it possessed in that moment. The modern reader tends to hold that such a theory does not sufficiently account for the large measure of continuity that appears in the world. If God might will a complete change of the world at every moment, the question has to be faced, "Why does he will so much continuity?" One answer to this question was in effect that there was the continuity we are familiar with because God followed a *sunna* or 'standard practice' in his activity of creation.

Such a discussion is somewhat remote from the ways of thinking of the contemporary scientist. It is therefore more profitable to go back to the Qur'ān itself, and to notice how it speaks not only of the original creation of man in the first place but also of the creation of every man by the natural processes of growth. The fullest description is that in Sūrat al-Mu'minīn (23), verses 12 to 14:

We created man of the choicest of clay,
then we made him a drop in a sure receptacle,
then we created the drop a clot,
then we created the clot a morsel,
then we created the morsel bones,
then we clothed the bones with flesh,
then we produced him a new creature.
Blessed be God the best of creators !

This is a description of the various stages of the embryo in the womb. There are some difficulties about the phrase here translated 'the choicest of clay', especially when it is compared to the other use of the word *sulāla* in the Qur'ān in Sūrat as-Sajda(32). The interpretation of this phrase is not

germane to the present reflections, but it may perhaps be suggested that its point is to emphasize that the stuff of which man is made is simply the ordinary stuff of the world. It is also not relevant now to consider the relation of the Arabic words—which have to be interpreted in accordance with their usage by Muḥammad's contemporaries—to the terms of modern embryological science The point to be emphasized here is rather that each of the changes mentioned is ascribed to the creative activity of God. God created the drop of clot, the clot a morsel and so on. This may now be linked up with the other Qur'ānic conception of God's creative activity, namely that it takes place through the speaking of the word 'Be'. This will mean that God says to the drop "Be a clot" and to the clot "Be a morsel" From this it further follows that, while the creative word may be spoken to bring into existence what at the moment does not exist, it may also be spoken to something which already exists in order to bring about a change in its existence. This is a very important conclusion.

It also seems to follow from the verses quoted that God must be thought of as acting creatively in and through natural processes. The growth of the embryo in the womb is what in our secular thinking we call a natural process of development The Qur'ān is not suggesting that the phenomena were in any way different from those observed by Muḥammad's contemporaries, but is asserting that the ultimate cause of these phenomena is different, or perhaps more exactly, that there is an ultimate cause underlying the apparent causes. At other points also it is a feature of the Qur'ānic way of thinking that events are ascribed directly to God as creator although a modern European believer in God would ascribe them primarily to some other 'secondary' causes and only indirectly to God.

These reflections have a bearing on the question of the relation of belief in God to some of the conclusions of modern biology Believers in God have been struggling to

come to terms with the findings of the biologists ever since Charles Darwin put forward his theory of evolution over a century ago. In the last decade or two biology has been making rapid strides forward in its knowledge of the past history of life on this planet and of the process by which new species develop. In all matters of detail the religious man is bound to accept views that are generally agreed on by biologists. When it comes, however, to a consideration of whether there may be something more fundamental underlying the biological process, the discussion is not restricted to those with a specialist knowledge of biology, though any participant must be familiar with the general principles agreed on by biologists.

In particular what is being suggested here is that verses of the Qur'ān such as those quoted above give an indication of the way in which belief in God's creative activity may be reconciled with an acceptance of the general teaching of biologists about the evolutionary process God's creative activity is manifested in the development of the embryo, and yet the whole process of the development of the embryo happens, as the scientist might say, in accordance with the principles of embryology. Similarly God's activity is manifested in the development of species, although the process takes place in accordance with biological principles. Just as God says to the drop "Be a clot", so in any particular age of geological time he says to one species "Be an important species" and to another "Be an insignificant species"; and to the last group he sometimes adds "and vanish away". It would not be altogether fanciful to compare the disappearance of ancient species like the mammoth and the dinosaur with the Qur'ānic references to the disappearance of peoples like 'Ād and Thamūd. The Qur'ān, as is well known, speaks of the disappearance of such peoples as a punishment for disobedience. Even the biologists, however, look on the disappearance of species as the result of a failure to respond positively to the demands of life—in particular to adapt oneself to changed

circumstances; in this way the disappearance of a species is not altogether dissimilar to a punishment.

Those who have been brought up to accept wholeheartedly the traditional beliefs of their religion and who have spent most of their lives in traditional religious circles will probably experience no problem of reconciling belief in God with modern biological thinking On the other hand, many young people are now studying biology and other scientific subjects, and their studies are bound to raise serious intellectual problems for them. The problem has not been adequately solved if the believer in God accepts the biologist's picture of the future of the world and of mankind, but thinks of it as an unfortunate necessity. The biologist's picture of the future of mankind may of course be wrong in many respects. In so far as it is correct, however, we must accept it not as an unfortunate necessity or as a punishment, but as a process willed by God, who is the Merciful and Compassionate. Underlying the biological process, then, is the creative activity of God, working for the realization of the divine purposes When a man believes this, he realizes, as he contemplates his own position in the vast and continuing biological process, that he is not an expendable item in a mechanically-determined series of events, but a participant in a process directed and controlled by God He probably will not fully understand the ends towards which the divine activity is moving, but he understands sufficient to know that he may look to the future in hope and joyful expectation.

N. K. DEVARAJA

The Unity of Religions

Even after a quarter century of independence our country is far from having achieved 'national integration' and having evolved a common moral and cultural pattern of life for its citizens. In particular, the two most numerous communities of India, Hindus, and Muslims, remain culturally and emotionally divided from one another, and outbursts of communal violence have not been unknown during the recent past. The emergence of Bangla Desh has shown that religion alone is powerless to keep people united as a single nation; that economic, ethnic and cultural factors are equally important as consitituents of effective unity. It remains to be demonstrated by our country that it is possible to achieve unity among people professing different religions.

Prima facie the problem appears to be a practical one; however, practical differences usually have roots in differences in attitudes and beliefs that are shared and propagated by the intellectual leaders in different communities. It is to such leaders of thought belonging to different religions, groups or communities in our land that the following paragraphs are addressed.

On the one hand, the secular constitution of our country guarantees religious freedom to every citizen; it is

committed, on the other hand, to building up a progressive, modern, democratic society on the sub-continent. This means, in effect, that the state expects propagandists and teachers of different religions to function within some limits. These limits should be defined, first, by the need of harmonious coexistence of people belonging to different denominational religions; and second, by the requirements of the progress and growth of the Indian Society.

There are two areas in which different religions or their followers clash with one another. It happens that the body of doctrines and beliefs cherished by one religion differs in some respect or other from those entertained by other religions. The differences may sometimes relate to inessentials, but, historically, even such differences have tended to generate antagonism between different religious groups Thus, to an outsider, the religions of Semitic origin such as Christianity and Islam have a good deal in common; that circumstance, however, has not prevented the Muslims and the Christians from fighting one another. On the other hand, the atheistic creeds of Jainism and Buddhism have existed and even flourished in India side by side with polytheistic Hinduism. Philosophically speaking Vedāntic Hinduism and Mahāyāna Buddhism have had much in common, but they have differed almost radically in their approaches to secular ideals and institutions Religions also differ in respect of the modes of worship, rituals and ceremonials prescribed by them. In fact, mere doctrinal differences among religions do not count for much unless they lead to divergent and conflicting practices in the context of social life.

The conflict among religions is due largely to the behavioral implications of their teachings in a society inhabited by different religious groups. These implications assume greater significance when they have a bearing on the forms of socio-political norms and institutions Thus the caste system of the Hindus has, of late, been exercising a pernicious influence on the working of Indian democratic institutions, and the

Muslims' continued adherence to polygamy is inconsistent not *only with the modern ethos but also with the country's* programme for arresting the growth of population. Rightly or wrongly the Hindus believe that the system of caste-divisions is ordained by their sacred texts; the Muslims likewise believe that polygamy is sanctioned by their religious law. While such minor matters as intolerance in regard to the killing of a cow or the playing of music before a mosque may generate conflicts among the illiterate or the fanatics among the educated, the differing attitudes towards socio-political norms are a more serious matter, as they may adversely affect the course of progressive legislation in the country.

II

It happens that the votaries of different religions look upon the respective teachings of those religions as sacred and infallible. Most of the major religions of the world claim to have each their own revealed scriptures, whose teachings are held to be ultimate and infallible truths. Other important religions claim to be based on the teachings of omniscient and infallible prophets Thus the Buddha and Mahavira are regarded by their followers to have been omniscient teachers The circumstance poses an intriguing problem before thoughtful observers not wholly committed to one or other religious tradition. The problem may be stated as follows How can the conflicting claims and the divergent views of the different religious scriptures and teachers be reconciled? Seeing that these scriptures and teachers often present us with conflicting accounts of the constitution and the course of the universe, and of man's place and destiny in it, how is an uncommitted observer to take a decision as to the correct and dependable view of the matter? It is amazing that the votaries of different religions should fail to appreciate this genuine difficulty of all honest inquirers.

The only way out of this difficulty, and one which may

prepare a genuine ground for the meeting of different religions, to our mind, is rejection of the dogma of the infallibility of any and all scriptural and prophetic teachings. The rejection is consistent with all what the sociologists and historians of culture and civilization have so far discovered about different ages and different peoples. It is noteworthy that the representatives and spokesmen of different religious traditions, one and all, are anxious to maintain that the teachings of their cherished faith do not essentially conflict either with science or with the modern values. This shows that even in the eyes of the religious leaders scientific attitude and some other values have come to acquire undeniable prestige It frequently happens that a certain tenet of a religion which seems to conflict with the findings of science and the value-attitudes of the modern man, is twisted and interpreted by the votaries of the religion concerned in a manner that makes it palatable to the modern mind. It is surprising that men dedicated to religious life should not mind being deliberately dishonest in the cause of their cherished scriptures. They obviously attach greater importance to a creed than to truth itself. These clever interpreters, however, are seldom inclined to have the same generous treatment given to other creeds and their respective scriptures.

There can be no doubt that the more active supporters of a religious creed are generally those who have been intensively and systematically conditiond to accepting its tenets and dogmas, it can also be inferred from their behaviour that they have not been conditioned with equal strength to seeking and accepting the truth. The circumstance makes them unfit to appreciate the view-points of other religions. The only way in which such people may be made to realize their mistake seems to be the following : they should be forced to view the situation of religious conflict from the standpoint of the rival religious creeds.

Apart from the highly conditioned religious fanatics and bigots there are honest, God-fearing believers who consider

it blasphemous to question the authority of their scriptures. Such persons, however, are seldom aggressive; they are usually willing to concede to others the right to have similar respect for their several scriptures. Such persons would usually prefer not to be confronted with the problem of reconciling the discordant teachings and the conflicting practical attitudes of the followers of different religions. However, for the benefit of believers who would also like to find a solution to the aforesaid conflicts, the following considerations may be offered. Even granting that the truths of this or that religion were revealed to a particular prophet or teacher by the Godhead itself, it may be conceded as a possibility that the expression of these truths in spoken or written language by that teacher or prophet was an imperfect achievement, for two reasons. First, the expression might have been hindered or obstructed by the inevitable shortcomings of a mortal recipient of the revelation concerned; secondly, the expression might also have been influenced by the prevailing idiom and the spiritual level of the age and culture to which the teacher under reference belonged. Indeed, there are very good reasons to believe that the two factors mentioned above are likely to leave their impress on the teachings of the greatest prophets and the holiest scriptures On an impartial scrutiny, this will be found to be true not only of the *Rigveda* and the *Old Testament* but also of the *Quran* and the *Bhagavadgita*.

A yet another consideration, calculated to promote mutual tolerance, may be proffered to the honest and well-meaning believers. The Indian religious tradition has propounded the helpful concept of *adhikāri-bheda*. According to this concept the wise religious teachers, such as the Buddha, varied their teachings and the emphasis on different elements in those teachings and doctrines, so as to suit the intellectual powers and spiritual needs and temperaments of the different sets of beneficiaries or recipients. The socio-cultural conditions and the intellectual and spiritual potentialities of a people make them receptive to one kind of teaching rather

than another, and the prophetic teachers acting as vehicles of God adjust their teachings according to the needs and temperaments of the people concerned. Viewed in this light the gospels of different religious scriptures and teachers would appear to be not so much conflicting and divergent as *complementary* to one another.

The suggestion that the scriptures of different religions should be looked upon as complementary to one another accords well with what is known about the history of man's culture in its various manifestations The different scriptures in the forms in which they have been handed down to us are the works of religious geniuses of differing temperaments and calibres who thought and believed that they had been inspired by God or Godhead. So far as the atheistic religions like Buddhism and Jainism are concerned they do not make any reference to a divinity responsible for inspiring their founders. On the contrary, they affirm faith in the omniscience of those teachers themselves. In any case, even the divine revelation is filtered through the minds of the inspired teachers before it actually reaches mankind. Now it is well-known that the cultural creations of geniuses in other fields, e.g., literature, music, mathematics, etc., are complementary to one another in the sense that, far from being in any sense antagonistic to one another, they tend to strengthen and develop their special subject in different ways or directions. Viewed in this light the gifted thinkers and authors belonging to the same tradition exhibit less radical differences than those belonging to different and more distant traditions. Thus, while the Elizabethan dramatists differ among themselves in some respects, their differences from the French classical playwrights are greater and of a more radical nature. Both the British and the French dramatic traditions, however, display still greater differences, particularly as regards their moral and spiritual problems and conflicts, in respect of the Sanskrit drama. Likewise, in the field of religion, there are fewer and less radical differences between the several faiths of Semitic

origin than between these faiths on the one hand and Buddhism and Jainism on the other.

The above observation leads to another. The encounter of different traditions in any field tends to set up the processes of cross-fertilization which result in enhanced creativity of the interacting traditions This may very well happen in the field of religion provided that the representatives of these cease to swear by the completeness and exclusive truth or validity of their respective revealed gospels.

The analogy between religious revelations and cultural creations in other fields may be extended in another direction. The creations of different artists belonging either to the same or different traditions exhibit perfections of different kinds. In the different areas of the so-called humanities, including art, literature and philosophy, great work may claim validity of a peculiar kind, but not truth understood in the logical or even the scientific sense. I use the expression 'even' in connection with scientific truth, for that truth is necessarily tied up with hypotheses and theories that can hardly claim literal correspondence with physical facts . The truth of a religious gospel, ideal or value is analogous to the validity or acceptability of a work of art rather than to the asserted content of a logical or factual proposition. Just as the diverse works of art give expression to aesthetic realities or values in different and divergent forms from different angles and with emphasis on different aspects of those realities or values, similarly religious revelations or scriptures seek to define religious life or the ideal religious man from their several angles, with varying emphasis on this or that aspect of that life or the ideal. This may be made clear by reference to some classical definitions or descriptions of the religious ideal. The second chapter of the *Bhagavadgita* contains a brief yet excellent description of the ideal saint of Hindu conception, called the *sthitaprajna* or the man of steady mind or firm understanding. It would be difficult, indeed, to find a comparable short description of the ideal religious person so con-

ceived in any other scripture of the world. The *Sermon on the Mount* is likewise an incomparable document and so are some sections of the *Dhammapada*. For one thing this shows that none of the scriptures may claim to be the exclusive creations of an Omniscient Being. *The Bhagavadgita* is not regarded as a revealed scripture, but its description of the *sthitaprajna* can compare—I was going to say compare favourably—with any passage in any of the Upanishads. The unequal quality of different parts of the so-called revealed texts also goes against the dogma of their being creations of an omniscience. Surely, it would be absurd to maintain, as an explanation of the unequal literary quality of different parts of a revelation, that the inspiration and the powers of composition of even an omniscient being fluctuate like those of a merely human genius.

III

The scriptures of the world contain not only descriptions of the ideal religious persons or the ideal religious life, but also outlines of schemes for man's institutional life, ethico-social and political. We have already alluded to the belief, widely entertained by the Hindus, that the scheme of four *varnas* or castes is sanctioned by the Vedas, e.g., the Purusha Sukta of the *Rigveda*. The scheme has been thoroughly elaborated by the *Manu Samhita*, which is considered second in authority only to the Vedas. Most of the religious scriptures of the world, including the *Rigveda* and the *Manusmriti*, mention the institution of Kingship with approval and even uphold the doctrine of the divinity and divine rights of the king. The revolutionary growth of political institutions during the modern times that has been responsible for creating and setting up democratic and socialistic forms of government in most of the progressive societies has rendered obsolete the doctrine in question. Thus, in practice, the followers of different religions no more look to their scriptures for guidance in

regard to their political and economic institutions. In theory, however, the scriptural teachings regarding these matters are not openly questioned and repudiated. As a consequence, spokesmen of different religions are not being properly helpful to progressive leaders and reformers or to the Government in their fight against such undesirable institutions as caste and polygamy. It is high time that people particularly those of India realized that religion proper has little or nothing to do with the social, economic and political institutions needed by a people, and that the question of the proper shape of these institutions is better left to socio-political scientists and thinkers, philosophers and reformers. All that religion may be expected to do in these matters is to supply the general framework of norms and value which should govern the life of the citizens in a general way No religion which pitches itself, by advocating the cause of outmoded practices and reactionary policies, against the important economic and political interests of the people or the modern welfare state, has a chance of obtaining a serious hearing In the history of Europe the Church has occasionally sought to interfere with and usurp some of the functions of the State; the attempt has invariably led to long-drawn conflicts between the spokesmen of religion and the representatives of the State. Such state of affairs invariably leads to the growth of mundane concerns both in the Church and in society in general, thus injuring the cause for which religion stands Religious life and sensibility have generally flourished well in societies where religion and politics have agreed to confine their activities to their respective spheres.

On the other hand, the rulers of the world have ever wanted religion to ditto or support their policies, right or wrong. History shows that when and where the weight of the Church or priests is thrown on the side of rulers and kings, the cause of justice and that of the poorer sections of society has generally suffered, thus rendering religion suspect in the eyes of those seeking eradication of social and economic

inequities. Had religion and religious organizations remained true to their transcendental ideals and to the requirements of social justice, had they not succumbed or surrendered to the more mundane interests and stooped to flattering the powers that be, anti-religious creeds pleading the case of the poor and the oppressed, such as socialism and communism, would not have come into being and gained extensive support not only from the masses but also from the intelligentsia. As a matter of history much of the progress achieved by civilized people in the areas of political and social legislation has come about in spite of the obstructive role played by the priesthood and the Church, rather than through co-operation and encouragement offered by those agencies.

IV

It was suggested above that religious teachers and organizations should confine themselves to the promotion of specifically religious ideals and values. Not that these values and ideals are entirely without bearing on man's social life. According to our conception the truly religious man is a man of supreme detachment, who refuses to struggle and fight for the competitive goods that the world can offer. The attitude of total indifference to things for which men fight coupled with unconditional friendliness and compassion towards living beings in general and the humans in particular make the religious man a model of virtuous disposition and conduct. Apart from what such a man can accomplish for the well-being of his fellow beings, the religious man sets an example of contented and peaceful life deriving sustenance and joy from noble impulses and friendly sentiments. As William James has remarked, "The saintly group of qualities is indispensable to the world's welfare".

Speaking humanistically, I would say that the contents of the unity of religions may be discovered by us through systematic reflection on the attitudes and dispositions that produce

the saintly character. To us it is the personality and the character of the saint that constitute the core and essence of the religious way of life. Here again we are faced with a dilemma. The attitudes and impulses of the saint are regarded by him and others as being rooted in his faith, and the faiths of different saints differ as violently as the sects and creeds to which they belong. On the other hand, there is little possibility of the emergence and flowering of the saintly personality in the absence of an overpowering faith in a peculiar spiritual order.

Without denying the immense complexity of the problem presented by the diversity of faiths inspiring saintly lives I venture to assert that the problem in question is not altogether unique and insoluble. We are faced with similar problems in almost all fields of culture Different societies may prescribe similar laws while assigning different reasons for their enactment and enforcement While admitting the greatness of Shakespeare in a general way important critics may assign different reasons for attributing greatness to that dramatist. A psychologist, a social philosopher, a humanist and a theist may all emphasize the importance of truthfulness in conduct, though each may have his own reasons for the emphasis The psychologist may recommend truthfulness for man because the habit of telling lies may produce undesirable tensions, the social philosopher may emphasize the virtue in the interest of social weal and harmony, the humanist may condemn lying as unworthy of a rational and upright being, and the theist may condemn 'bearing false witness' in the name of God's commandments and the possibility of divine anger and punishment. I am trying to suggest that an identical course of conduct may be commended or prescribed by different parties for different considerations. From this it follows that the content of the unity of religions may be defined solely in terms of the character and conduct of the ideal religious persons—either without any reference whatever to the divergent faiths or dogmas, or in terms of considerations that are likely to be

acceptable to the modern man.

Here another factor may also be taken into account. While the saints of all ages and climes have some virtues in common, they also differ from one another both in their attitudes towards the world and its creatures in their day-to-day bearing and conduct. Thus St. Francis of Assisi is unique in some respects even among the Christian saints. Likewise Jesus Christ differs from the Buddha no less than does Gandhi differ from Ramakrishna and Kabir from Tulasidas. Great saints, it would appear, differ from one another no less than do the great writers and artists and great philosophers. It also seems to be true that different religious traditions have tended to commend and admire different groups of saintly virtues and different types of saintly life. The relatively more catholic Hindu tradition recognizes four principal pathways to God or salvation, thereby according recognition to at least four types of saintly personages or ideal religious life. These types correspond to four types of yoga or spiritual discipline, i.e., the yoga of knowledge, the yoga of action, and the way of devotion and mystic contemplation Even then, it may be asserted that the Indian tradition lays greater emphasis on detachment and on such moral virtues as self-control, *ahimsa* and truthfulness, while the Christian tradition attaches greater importance to rendering loving service to one's fellow-beings and to the virtues of faith, hope, and humility.

To sum up : the promotion of the unity of religions requires a negative and a positive programme of action. This programme should be carried on by the intellectual leaders of the different religions. On the negative side, while taking care not to undermine the peoples' sense of respect for the spiritual leaders and prophets, attempt should be made to make them see the historical, culture-relative and complementary character of different revealed scriptures or teachings. The same treatment should be given to the socio-political schemes prescribed by different religious traditions. On the positive side, people should be encouraged to acquaint them-

selves with and to learn to admire the ideal religious personages belonging to different traditions. Finally, in order to combat the growing skepticism and cynicism in regard not only to the religious dogmas but also the religious values, new schemes of thought lending support to religious attitudes and values may be evolved by thinkers who do not owe exclusive allegiance to any particular set of scriptures or a particular religious tradition. This does not imply that the thinkers born to different cultural traditions should feel reluctant or even hesitant to proclaim and propagate what they consider to be the special merits and virtues of the traditions in question.

S. MAQBUL AHMAD

The Florescence and Decline of Islamic Society in the Middle Ages

OF the various periods of Arab history, the ‘Abbasid period (A.D. 750-1258) is generally considered to be an important one, for it was during this period that considerable amount of social and cultural process was attained by the peoples inhabiting the ‘Abbāsid Empire. Its importance in Arab history, and indeed in world history, should be judged neither from its long duration of over five hundred years and rule over vast territories of Asia and Africa, nor from the varied and colourful achievements of the people in various fields of life. The historical significance of this period lies in the fact that it was mainly during the first century of the ‘Abbāsid rule that the bulk of the knowledge of the ancient Greeks, the *al-Mutaqaddimin* of Arab writers, as well as that of the ancient Indians and the Iranians, was transmitted to the Arabs and ultimately became a part of their precious heritage and legacy. How deeply and precisely and in what manner did this heritage affect Christendom in Medieval Europe through Arabic literature or through ideas travelling to Europe before and during the Crusades, are questions that need to be worked out in detail. We are on surer grounds, however, if we say that the cumulative knowledge, experience and the genius of the

Muslims, Christians, Jews and of others of this period as preserved in the Arabic-Islamic literature, exercised a prolonged though chequered influence on many Asian and African lands in the post-'Abbasid period, notably the Ottoman Empire, Central Asia, India, Iran and Egypt. Yet in all these there is a marked absence of that intellectual brilliance and dynamic character that was the distinguishing feature of the 'Abbasid society. From the 8th to the 11th century, whether it was in the field of art, science or literature, or in the art of administration, diplomacy and law, the people were forging ahead and learning through trial and tribulation and discovering new venues and receiving new laurels of success. It were as though they were imbued with a fresh vigour and zeal of activity. The spirit of enquiry and investigation pervaded academic and educational activities and even the theories and ideas of the ancient masters were occasionally challenged in the light of new experiences and results of experiments. Scientific experience seemed to have been geared to the practical needs of the people. The knowledge was applied in handicrafts and industry, in ship-building and navigation and in many other fields of life, like education, health, politics and religion Education was becoming popular and with the increase of geographical knowledge through travel and exploration, and from the experience of the major portion of the *oekumene*, the outlook of the people on life also widened. Thus, apart from the *élite* and the merchants, the sailors and the captains (*'arbab*) of boats and the missionaries and historians with *wanderlust*, the generality of the masses expressed a lustful desire to browse over the pages of the *'ajā'ib*-literature that was produced in abundance during this period and told strange and amusing tales about the distant and unknown lands traversed by the Arab sailor and traveller-merchant. Sailor's songs of courage and fortitude encouraging them to face the hazardous voyages of the period are recorded by historians. There was no dearth of adventurous spirit and the very first Muslim explorer of the Atlantic Ocean was a certain Khash-

khāsh of Spain. It may be that the Aristotelian theory of the smallness of the earth that had dominated the Middle Ages down to the times of Christopher Columbus might have motivated him to take the voyage. Although the Arabs had a vague conception that the Indian Ocean was somewhere connected by water with the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic, for evidence to that effect was discovered in the 9th century A.D., yet they could not imagine that there might be a connection between the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean along South Africa, for according to Ptolemy the whole of the Southern hemisphere was surrounded by land stretching from the East Coast of Africa upto China. It was only the genius of an al-Biruni who could conceive theoretically, the possibility of the existence of some channels and gulfs connecting the Indian Ocean with the Atlantic along the Southern coast of Africa. Why did the Arabs fail to explore the southern coast of Africa and round the Cape of Good Hope may be explained by the fact that although they traded as far South as Sofala on the East Coast of Africa, their small boats were not strong enough to cross the strong Ocean currrents and storms which one had to face further south. Again, primitive and barbarous tribes of Africa may have dissuaded them from exploring the sources of the Nile and the head-hunters of the East Indies may have prevented the Arab sailors from touching the shores of Australia. However, the Indian Ocean was the territory of the Arab navigator down to the days of Ibn Majid who guided Vasco da Gama to the shores of India.

A close study of the 'Abbasid society would reveal that it was primarily a mercantile society. The merchant class formed an important section of the society, the others being the nobles (*'umara*), the *'ulma'* and the military, the workers and handicraftsmen, the peasantry and the slaves. No doubt these classes represented various strata of the society, the merchant class was the well-to-do 'middle class' of the time. From the very early days of Islam the profession of trade had acquired a dignified position in the world of Islam. The

example of the Prophet who was himself a merchant in his youth was always kept in mind. The change of the capital of the Islamic empire from Damascus to Baghdad on the Tigris opened up immense possibilities of sea-trade through the Persian Gulf. The Persian Gulf which was the centre of the navigational activities of the Persians before the rise of Islam now fell to the lot of the Arabs for their commercial and other activities. The Arabs, until the rise of Islam, were merely trade agents between the east and the west, but now they had the opportunity of learning the art of navigation from the Persians which they utilized for their commercial purposes

Another prominent feature of the society was the development of rationalism and liberalism in the thought of the people. This was as a result of the study of Hellenistic sciences. Muslim learning and education was not confined to the traditional Islamic sciences Its scope had widened and Hellenistic sciences had become a part of the curriculum and the syllabi Although their study was confined to a small section of the learned they were of practical importance for the people. In a society whose main activities were commerce and industry and wherein the merchants had to compete in foreign markets with high-quality foreign goods, like those of India and China, scientific and technological knowledge became all the more important from a commercial point of view. With its help they could improve the quality of their goods. It was therefore the practical and the experimental side of science acquired from the Greeks that had a close relationship with and a direct bearing upon the economic aspect of the 'Abbasid society, and the ultimate prosperity of the people depended upon it.

It seems that the 'Abbasid society had all the essentials and the potentialities of a developing community. It was not a feudal society basically, though farming out of lands to the military governors of the provinces was practised when the central government faced financial crises and deficits occurred

in the Caliph's Treasury. On the whole it was a fairly urbanised society and the main riches of the empire was concentrated in big cities and towns with specialised markets of various types of goods, profitable trade, and even a system of banking in its early form.

Finally, there was the element of broad social and international outlook provided by Islam, which was the main source of inspiration and guide to life. It preached a type of economic equality and justice, conceptions themselves borrowed different indigenous Arab and non-Arab sources. There was no question of nationalism or democracy in the modern sense of the term, because it was primarily the Arab Bedouin traditions and aspirations that were carried over from the pre-Islamic into the post-Islamic periods. There was certainly a sense of brotherhood within the community of Islam but not outside it, and a Muslim traveller felt quite at home wherever he sojourned within the frontiers of *dar al-Islam* and was warmly welcomed by Muslims found outside the 'Abbasid Empire if he happened to visit such regions, which in political terminology was called the *dar al-harb*. Thus, it was a tribal Arab brotherhood called *'asabiya*, which had transformed itself from the intense feeling of blood-relationship into a wider feeling of religious brotherhood. The most progressive aspect of this transformation was that generally speaking, the Arabs and all those who entered the new fold of Islam had completely discarded the racial, tribal, and regional prejudices.

The 'Abbasid society was, on the whole, an enlightened and cosmopolitan society. In some respects it may be compared to the Europe of the Renaissance period. But the latter passed through a series of revolutions, social, political and religious, and finally emerged as the modern western civilization with all its glory and power. One may therefore rightly question that why is it that if both the societies were similar in character and spirit, one progressed incessantly without breaking the continuity, while the other showed signs and

symptoms of decay since about the 11th century and finally degenerated and stagnated, and remained so until the modern times.

In order to answer this question satisfactorily we have not only to make a careful analysis of the causes of the decline of the 'Abbasid power, but also to discover the various factors and the circumstances that had led to the degeneration of the Islamic society intellectually, morally and in many other ways. I will not go into the political or economic causes of the decline and the ultimate collapse of the political and 'spiritual' power and prestige of the 'Abbasid caliphs, for these questions are ably discussed and explained by modern specialists of Arab history. I would, in this paper, raise one fundamental question, namely, the relationship between orthodoxy and rationalism in Islam or to be more precise the struggle between orthodoxy and Hellenistic sciences during and after the 'Abbasid period A satisfactory explanation of the relationship between the two, will, I believe, give an important clue with regard to the causes of the decline of the Islamic society

Although the 'Abbasid rule came to an end in the middle of the 13th century, the intellectual and cultural decline among the Muslims and other sections of the society had begun much earlier, namely, during the 10th and the 11th centuries. This may be attributed to some early causes. The study of the Hellenistic sciences and specially philosophy and logic, had begun to be abandoned early and was discouraged by the orthodoxy opinion among the theologians for it ran counter to the fundamental beliefs of Islam. Greek materialist philosophy and especially views like the universe was eternal, was un-Islamic and heretical, for it weakened the belief of the Muslim who believed that the universe came into existence in time. The fear of being overwhelmed and engulfed by such 'un-Islamic' conceptions and teachings put the orthodox theologians and jurists on the defence in the early phase of the struggle. By this time the sect of the Mu'tazila, who were

comparatively more liberal and open-minded, had come into existence in the polity of Islam. They were, therefore, the first targets of orthodoxy. They were attacked for following the middle road (*almanzilat bayn al-manzilatayn*) between belief and non-belief. It was not a mere coincidence that one of the greatest patrons of Greek sciences and learning in Islam, namely, Caliph al-Ma'mūn, held Mu'tazili views and appointed only such people to high governmental posts who held such views.

Orthodoxy had, however, gained an early upper hand and had consolidated its position behind the Prophetic Tradition (*hadith*) which was early organized and had the mass appeal in it. On the other hand liberalism or free-thought was an undercurrent of the intellectual movements and it came to the surface only occasionally or whenever it was politically expedient to allow its appearance Greek sciences and philosophy continued to be studied and taught though in a constrained and often throttled atmosphere. It was al-Ash'ari who for the first time fought the Mu'tazila on their own grounds and may be said to have initiated the era of complete domination of orthodoxy in Islam. This process culminated in al-Ghazzali, whose genius introduced a reconciliation between Shari'a and Sufism on the one hand and put the Islamic sciences much above the Hellenistic ones, on the other. Although he was successful in creating a synthesis between the various opposing and contradictory forces in Islam, he was able by a subtle intellectual process, to end all hopes and possibilities of question, change, evolution or revolution in any aspect of the religious thought of Islam. Thus, for the first time the foundations of *taqlid* and dogmatism were laid down in Islam. Shari'a now became the dogma and all aspects of Muslim life were judged by it. Al-Ghazzali's successful attack on those who studied Greek philosophy and claimed to be philosophers once for all decided the question whether Greek philosophy and indirectly all knowledge that was of Greek origin should be studied or not. The answer was an emphatic

'no'. In the later period an effort was made to standardize Muslim education with a heavy bias in favour of orthodox schools Chains of *madrasas* were established in practically every town of the Islamic world where besides the Islamic sciences, some censored Greek sciences were also taught.

The net result of all this was that stereotyped education was imparted to Muslim children generation after generation. Since there was no scope for fresh knowledge and the spirit of enquiry and investigation had also diminished, text-books were neither revised nor replaced by new ones. Old text-books that were produced by the early masters were taught in an orthodox fashion uncritically and unintelligently.

During the period of decline the exact and the natural sciences met with the same fate, that is to say, they stagnated except some, like geography, which had a direct bearing on commerce and trade Medicine (*tibb*) suffered considerably, most probably due to lack of support and encouragement for experiments and research in surgery and other branches. No notable contributions by Muslim physicians seem to have been made since the days of al-Razi or Ibn Sina, except perhaps the theories advanced by Ibn al-Nafis in regard to the circulation of blood in human body On the other hand, we find that allopathy which like the *yunani tibb* originated from and based upon the teachings of Hippocrates and Galen, made tremendous advances in Europe, and there is no limit to its achievements in modern times. The explanation of this lies in the fact that in the case of *tibb* theory and practice had parted company very early. Since the experimental side was abandoned, theoretical works produced by the early masters like Ibn Sina continued to be studied down the centuries.

As for chemistry, it continued to be utilized in various industries thus developing an experimental side, but the urge of the early scientists to change base metal into gold was too great to allow chemistry to be studied as a proper science. In mathematics and astronomy the Muslims achieved a great deal, but the dead-weight of dogmatism was felt long before

al-Ghazzali by no less eminent a person than the great al-Biruni. He complained that some people criticized the study of exact sciences and were prejudiced against them. This, he says, was not for any academic reasons, but because they had some ulterior motives and in this way wished to harm those who studied these sciences.

By the 11th century general decay in the study of sciences had set in. The scientific works produced were of a repetitive nature and were mostly a rehash, commentaries or gists of what was written earlier. From this period onwards, for about six centuries, the teacher and the taught in the *madrasas* of Damascas, Baghdad, Cairo, Samarqand, Isfahan, Marv, Delhi and Agra continued to study along with theology, 'selective' sciences the contents of which had become outdated and rusty. Any one who tried to raise fundamental questions or thought of re-interpretation was faced with the attack of scholasticism and changed with *bid'at* and *ilhad*; the sword of Democles was ever present over the Muslim head. As a whole, if the monarch or Sultan was himself interested in the advancement of arts and sciences, a possibility of improvement would occur as happened in the case of astronomy, geography and historiography, which developed in some Muslim empires in the East. But this progress was haphazard and lop-sided.

Sufism, no doubt, played a liberalizing role in Islamic history, and it not only checked the intensity and harshness of the Shari'a but introduced freshness in the religious thought of Islam. Although it did not play the same role as did the Mu'tazila in the early history of Islam, it was, and still is today, an important movement within Islam, running parallel to Shari'a and orthodoxy. It has considerably changed its former character and lost the early zeal and sharpness, when the *muhtasibs* of Islam rarely pardoned its more outspoken adherents.

Thus we see that the rise of what one might term 'an organized orthdoxy' in Islam, resulted not only in the decline

of science and learning, but became the main cause of the Islamic society as a whole. When knowledge ceased to grow and expand and when its horizons became narrow due to lack of liberty or thought and academic freedom and experiments and practical application of science to the needs of the community ceased, the material conditions of the people were also affected and as a result deteriorated. Science was no more applied in commerce and industry and this had an adverse effect upon the economic prosperity of the people.

The important factor in this whole period of decline was the absence of any religious-reformist movements in the Islamic world until modern times. The absence of reformation allowed the continuation of the hold of religion on all aspects of Muslim life Religion could not be separated from other departments of life, and hence religious authority in its various form reigned supreme. Again, once Islam acquired a dogmatic form and lost its early revolutionary character and spirit, it became all the more difficult for any one to challenge it and face the wrath of the orthodox *'ulama'* or even strict *sufis* like those of Central Asia. This, I believe, was an important factor and still continues to be so. However, since the 17th and the 18th centuries, the Islamic world has been undergoing a change due to the impact of western science and culture. New modes of thought and concepts are replacing the old ones, and the society as a whole is being rejuvenated The impact of industrialization, which is taking place in many eastern countries, is bound to exercise its effect and ultimately change the whole outlook on life. Yet, even today dogmatism and orthodoxy does raise its head wherever and whenever possible and acts as a barrier in the way of rapid progress. The immediate need of the moment, therefore, is reformation in Islam and reinterpretation of the religion and the *Shari'a*.

S. WAHID-UD-DIN

World-Views : A Philosophical Evaluation

MAN'S vision of the world finds its most eloquent expression in philosophy, Art and Religion. As man is a part of the world his vision includes his own view of himself and of the values which he discovers and makes them relevant and effective for his culture. While Art and Religion convey the world-view through images and emotional thought, philosophy is required to make men aware of the full implications of their world-view and make them conscious of their own inner life. The determinants of the world-view are manifold. The most striking of these determinants are psychological, logical and historical.

Once the world-views have developed they are prone to be over-emphasised and lay claim to exclusive rights. The world-views based on empirical data might become archaic with the advance of empirical science and might be forced to undertake a radical reform of their own initial assumptions. This has happened with Materialism. Though it still persists as a world-view it is compelled to reconcile itself with the changing concepts of matter. The variety of these world-views speaks as much for the variety of life-forms, Lebensformen (to speak with E. Spranger) or the primordial structures of psychic reality as for the thought-forms or Denk-formen (to

speak with Leisegang) in which man's thought logically moves. Since Dilthey we are used to think of the difference in world-views as limited in historical expression. This means that the divergences of the philosophical world-outlook do not show an anarchy in the construction of systems but might be reduced to limited alternatives which persistently conflict in history. We have taken this opportunity to reflect on these basic and authentic alternatives and to see whether philosophic reflection presupposes or excludes the co-existence of alternatives in the philosophical world-view.

The critique of world-views has been recognised as one of the main engagements of philosophic activity and the development of one's own world perspective always presupposes confrontation with other world-views. That plurality of world-views is a historical fact cannot be disputed. But that it is both a philosophical and logical necessity has been slowly realised. Man's consciousness of the world, the way he looks at the world and the different ways in which facts and values are brought together provoke a conflict of outlooks. But a world-view need not be a philosophically thought out world perspective It may be native and unsophisticated and can be nothing more than an unreflective expression of man's encounter with the world. It may not be a conceptual construction. It includes ethical, aesthetic and religious moments. It is a total response of man to the world. As Rickert observes even Maslowa, the poor prostitute in Tolstoy's *Resurrection,* has a world-view which determines her actions and life. A world-view cannot be denied to the primitive man however pre-logical his thought might be. It might seem that philosophy must go beyond the development of world-views to a critique of world-views, from *Weltanschuung* to a *Weltanschauungslehre.*

We are not at the moment interested in the philosophical world-views as such and the conflict in which they are now involved. If philosophy is supposed to arrive at a world-view which is universally valid its history sadly misses the

fulfilment of this aspiration. Conflict has been the hallmark of the philosophic thought albeit the conflicting positions have sometimes appeared to yield to a higher synthesis through a dialectical movement of thought. If problems persist their solutions also persist, though along with them new moulds of expression and terminology emerge. If the materialistic solution of Democritus was once linked with the scientific world-view of his time, the materialistic hypothesis in the eighteenth century was bound with the discoveries in physiology and more recently with the development in economics. Revolutionary changes may take place in sciences and lead to a crisis if their very foundations are shaken and consequently new perspectives force recognition.

What is of interest to us is the fact that philosophical solutions in spite of all apparent transformation retain their own individuality and the diversity of world-views is expressed in well-defined moulds. This persistence of solutions and problems with reference to the philosophical world-view has led to the development of a typological consideration of world-views and in the development of these typologies German thinkers of the recent past have done pioneering work.

Trelendenberg's and Dilthey's observations have been decisive in this respect. But even earlier it was Hegel who in his *Phenomenologie desyeistes* gave a remarkable characterisation of different positions which the Spirit takes in the process of knowing and where each position has its own relevance. Philosophical speculation aims at the preservation of each position as a 'moment' in the total world-view.

Dilthey considers the main position as Naturalism, Objective Idealism and Idealism of Freedom. Naturalism embraces all kinds of materialism and does not recognise the autonomy of spiritual life, Objective Idealism relegates the individual mind to the background and the Idealism of freedom rests on the autonomy of the individual spirit. But since Dilthey the upholders of philosophical world-views have

moved in different directions. Karl Gross traces the development of philosophical systems to the antithetic movement of human knowledge which vacillates between two conflicting concepts. If the mythological world-view shows the contrast of Heaven and Earth, Light and Darkness, Chaos and Cosmos philosophy no less decisively moves in the contrast of Being and Becoming, understanding and sensibility, thing-in-itself and Appearance, Nature and Spirit, Knowledge and Faith. Philosophical thought often aims at overcoming the dualism. Now the duality may well be recognised as unbridgeable, either in itself or for our knowledge or a mediation may be sought between the conflicting concepts and an attempt may be made to see in the one only the complementary aspect of the other.

Psychologically diversity of the world-views may be considered a diversity of human types and in recent psychology the typological movement has received a powerful impetus from the works of C.G. Jung. Thus we do not consider philosophical systems independent of the philosophers but rooted in the main psychological pattern of mental life. If the emphasis on the external world distinguishes the extrovert mind, the tendency to withdraw into oneself defines the introvert attitude. Eduard Spranger drew inspiration from Dilthey's Psychology of Understanding which approaches man not as a natural object but as a historical configuration. He worked out the basic forms which are really the ideal forms of human personality each developing a world-view which corresponds to its mental mould and genius. The theoretical world-view of a mathematician can hardly satisfy the world-view of a religious or aesthetic personality, as each world-view is carried by different standards of value and appreciation. Thus each world-view bears the stamp of the person with his own world of values.

More significant is the attempt to trace back the diversity of world-views to the basic thought-forms. The attempt of Karl Groos was indeed to know the basic pattern of thought on which the diversity of world-views is based. But a most

constructive attempt in this direction is made by Hans Leisegang in his work 'Denk-Formen' or thought-forms. Some traces of it are also found in Karl Jaspers 'Psychologie der Weltanschauungen'. Jaspers speaks of thought techniques whereas Leisegang thinks of thought-forms. Jaspers distinguishes three principal forms, the scholastic, the experimental or the dialectical. The scholastic thought-form is based on the principal of contradiction, the experimental is the empirical form based on experience and induction and the dialectical thought always seeks mediation in contradictory concepts and aims at a total reconciliation. The attitudes on the other hand have a psychological significance and they find their basic form of expression in the active and the contemplative attitude. In the active attitude the world is experienced as an object of resistance. Time is real and this attitude cannot understand a world of timeless entities. In this attitude one is not concerned with the ideals and the worlds which are foreign to the situation. The charecterisation is best given by Goethe when he said of such an attitude:

> He respects science in so far as it is useful, and
> He appreciates art in so far as it adorns or beautifies his world
> In his proximity there may not be anything which has no function,
> What ought to be must work and serve.

As against this is the contemplative attitude which includes intuitive, aesthetic and rational attitudes. Man in this attitude is a seer in the eminent sense and the objects of sight and vision refer equally well to the world of sense and the inner world. The aesthetic attitude which is distinguished by Kant as the disinterested delight in the object and by Schopenhauer as Will-less contemplation sees in art an isolation of the impressions from the objective context, from duties and ends and it concentrates on the world as a cosmos of

symbolic character. The rational attitude corresponds to the rational thought techniques and moves in opposition. The one position isolates the other. The rational attitude always fixes and determines and when it loses contact with experience becomes empty and has to go back to life to seek sustenance ; otherwise, it kills and benumbs life. Only Hans Leisegang has systematically occupied himself with the thought-forms on which world-views are ultimately based. The basic world-views are the materialistic, the idealistic and the pan-vitalistic. If thought has developed with the study of nature without any reference to life a materialistic world-view is born which denies all autonomy to life, mind and spirit. But since Plato Idealism has oriented itself on artistic creation and the works of the artisans. The world-creator himself is considered an architect, a Demiurage who constructs a world of space after a world plan. The third thought-form is developed on the idea of the world as an organism. The world is life and life is God who subsists in all creatures as logos, as world-reason and becomes conscious in man. To three areas of being, to nature, life and mind correspond these thought-forms with their own categories and hence the attempt to vitalise nature or to mechanise life and mind is doomed to failure.

Now we come to our problem which is to take a position vis-a-vis different positions. It has often been alleged that a critique of world-views is bound to proceed from one definite world-view itself and it is impossible to take a detached view of world-views. Intellectual honesty forces one to admit that the attempt to reduce plurality of world-views into a monistic picture is doomed to failure and philosophy can never dispense with alternate possibilities of interpretation and human knowledge can never claim finality or pretend to be the last word. Apart from the theoretical world-views with which philosophy is concerned there are views born of mystic and religious experiences. Philosophy itself as a historical phenomenon has always allowed extra-theoretical motives to work in the development of its systems. And it is nothing for

philosophy to be ashamed of. Even political ideologies rest on metaphysical assumptions and their conflict is another expression of the world-views underlying there. Philosophy is man's quest for wholeness and religion is carried by the conviction of a Reality which is rationally inexhaustible. Thus neither philosophy nor religion can overcome diversity in its factual manifestation. Their differences show a definite pattern. But the question is whether the philosophical world-view which includes all possible philosophical perspectives of the world must conflict with the religious world-view. We need not subscribe to the view of double truth attributed wrongly to the great Arab philosopher Averroes, the view that what is philosophically true need not be theologically true and vice-versa. What we call the world may mean differently in different perspectives. Alexis Carrel once remarked that the world of the physicist, the mystic, the poet and the lover are not the same and different objects of nature mean differently for different areas of value experience. If the philosophical world-view cannot pretend to be carried only by theoretical interests the emotionally saturated world-views may yield cognitive content. It is the merit of existentialists to have widened the area of knowledge and to have brought out the philosophical relevance of human moods or *stimmungen.*

We may now justly speak of the levels of reality and the world-views corresponding to them. The over-emphasis of one world-view against the other leads to fanaticism; the insensitivity to other dimensions of thought and value ends in cultural blindness. The ontological analysis of N. Hartmann has especially emphasized the dangers to which human spirit is exposed in its onesidedness and exclusiveness. But unfortunately even Hartmann has exposed himself to the same charge and his otherwise remarkable achievement betrays a strange insensitivity to religious and mystic values. Philosophical tolerance requires understanding even for positions which we decisively reject. Our world-view need not blind us to

the limitations of human vision and the strength of conviction need not make us deny the possibilities of alternative explanations. We may well entertain the idea of an all-inclusive world-view. But our ideas are often aspirations which become challenges and it is the tragedy of the human situation that the challenges cannot be adequately met.

GURBACHAN SINGH TALIB

Renderings from 'Zabur-i-Ajam' of Iqbal

I

O LORD of the Sun and the Moon, look at a straying handful of dust, this small particle that carries within itself a desert;

Thy Infinite beauty has seen abode within one heart, just see thy own Sun hidden behind the bosom of a man;

Thou hast struck with Thy burning love the heart of man; see Thy fire blazing in this reed-forest;

Behold the hardihood of this old polluted sinner, he would wash away all the blots of his sin;

Our dust rises to build a new heaven out of itself; behold the audacity of this inconsiderable atom, setting out to build a desert.

II

THE LANDSCAPE ACCURSED OF SLAVERY

A blasted patch of earth, scorpion-infested,
Its very ants serpent-stinging,
Venomous, blighting,

Swept through with flames sulphurous,
Gyrating ring upon ring,
Asphyxiating, thunderous, bellowing—
A pit of writhing, poison-oozing
cobras fanged,
An inferno of leaping tongues of fire,
Each a rabid hound to burn and blast,
Life-destroying, death-dealing:
Better far in such hell of affliction
a thousand ages
Than a day's a moment's life in
bondage !

III

We have strayed away from God, and he is in search of us, and is like us humble and lowly and love-lorn;

Sometimes He writes His message within the leaflets of the poppy and sometimes He wails through the hearts of birds.

Then He hides Himself in the *nargis* so that He may view our loveliness, and views us with looks as eloquent as words;

The sighs that escape Him in the morning in separation from us are spread in the all directions, and all sides;

He created this complex Universe for obtaining sight of clay-made man, and the pretence to enjoy the sight of the colourful world has only this one end in view;

He is hidden in every atom, is as visible as the moon-light that is clinging to palace and street, and yet unknown to us;

In our earth-kneaded clod, the Jewel of Life lies lost; Is this missing Jewel we or He ?

IV

My life is caught up in the toils of the world, and is wailing like a stream flowing over rocks;

This evanescent life of mine is struggling openly and secretly with things that last for ever and ever;

These mountains and deserts, these wilds and oceans, they neither can know my sorrow, nor share it with me.

These streams and water-falls, all are devoid of love and yearning;

The cry of the nightingales in gardens compared with mine is a cold, passionless cry;

The pain that is consuming me within never visited gardens and flower beds.

QAMAR UDDIN

Shaikh Mubarak Nagori

THE study of the religious history of Akbar's reign would remain incomplete without reconstructing in detail the life and thought of Shaikh Mubarak Nagori who was a learned but an unorthodox and liberal theologian of his time and who, due mainly to his free thinking and unorthodoxy, had to suffer persecution at the hands of the theologians in power. From the point of view of his religious persuation different opinions have been expressed by his contemporaries. The orthodox group among scholars was always dissatisfied with him and accused him of changing his religious beliefs.[1] He was suspected to be a Sunni, a Shia, an Imamiya and a Mahdawi and some of his contemporaries even were of the opinion that he belonged to none of them but that he was a clever man and shifted his stand according to the need of the hour.

Shaikh Mubarak traced his origin to an Arabian Darvish from Yemen who in the ninth century hijra had settled in Sevistan where he married.[2] In the tenth century Shaikh Khidr, the father of Shaikh Mubarak, came to India and settl-

1. Badauni, *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, III, p 74; Haigh, p. 119.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, Preface, p. 1.

ed at Nagore[1], which was famous as a mystic centre. It was at Nagore that Shaikh Mubarak was born in 911/1506. Soon after his birth he lost his father. Shaikh Mubarak and his mother had to face great hardships at Nagore on that account. At the same time famine added to the miseries of the family. Later on many members of his family fell victim to the epidemic of plague. But despite these hardships Mubarak's mother brought him up with great care and arranged the best possible education for him. It is said that he often changed his religious opinions. Under Islam Shah he was a Mahdawi and had to suffer persecution in the beginning of Akbar's reign. He then became a Naqshbandi, then a Hamadani and lastly when the court was full of Persians, he was inclined towards Shi'ism. Whatever his religions leanings may have been it is a fact that he was a man of comprehensive genius. According to *Ain-i-Akbari* he had encyclopaedic scholarship and unusual intelligence At Ahmadabad he fell in with distinguished scholars and further improved his knowledge. He also received a high diploma in every branch of learning. He acquired acquaintance with doctrines of all the four schools of Muslim Jurisprudence namely Malaki, Shafai, Hanafi and Hanbali and of the Imamiyat (Shia) school, both in principle of law and the law itself and by strenuous application acquired the dignity of a Mujtahid. Although traditionally he belonged to the theological school of Imam Abu Hanifa he had always adorned his conduct with discretion and avoiding a servile following of his opinion submitted only to demonstration and took upon himself the things which the flesh resisted. An opinion regarding his religious knowledge may be formed by the fact that he studied every branch of knowledge, read treatises on Sufism and transcendental theology and perused works on contemplation and worship.

Shaikh Mubarak received education under Khatib Abul Fadl Kazrun who accepted him as his son because he had a

1. ibid., Text Vol. II, p. 259; Jarret, III, p 419.

very high opinion of Shaikh Mubarak. He also attended upon Shaikh Umar of Thatta who was one of the greatest saints of his time. Moreover he fell in with many scholars of Shattari, Tayfuri, Chishti and Suharwardy Silsilahs and profited by their instructions. He also remained in touch with Shaikh Yousuf who was the most ecstatic and inspired of mystics.[1]

Not only after his death but even during his lifetime Mubarak had been a controversial figure. As has already been mentioned he was believed to be attached to a variety of faiths but the main thing which not only brought many hardships upon Shaikh Mubarak and his family but also helped turn the course of events in the following period was his attachment to the Mahdawi movement, which also influenced Akbar and strengthened the growing revolt in his mind against the frigid bigotry of the orthodox teachers.[2]

It was in 1548 that he, for the first time, came into direct conflict with the court ulama when in the court of Islam Shah Sur he defended Shaikh Alai, one of the followers of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, the founder of the first revivalist movement in India. From that day he was known to be a Mahdawi.

From the very beginning of his carreer as a scholar Shaikh Mubarak had been passing a contented life which centred round the mosque or the madarsa where he taught and his own house. He despised wealth and influence. Even his sons cared little for wealth or office. Two of them were exceptionally brilliant. Abul Fadl, a man of profound learning, untiring industry and commanding intellect, played the part of a scholar, a courtier, a poet, an author, a man of affairs and a friend who was faithful to Akbar. He was for many years the confidential secretary and adviser. Due to his simple but dedicated life it seems Shaikh Mubarak was very popular among the laity. There are evidences that at times he had to

1. ibid , II, Jarret, p 484
2. Laurence Binyon, *Akbar*, Edinburg, 1935, pp. 86-89.

starve his big family due to want of provisions but he considered it below his dignity to ask anyone for anything. But it seems that is was only his popularity with the masses which became an eyesore for the court ulama and made Makhdum al-Mulk and Shaikh Abd al-Nabi his enemies. At this time Akbar was in the grip of the court ulama and they were free to act as they pleased. They got hold and killed such persons who tried to introduce innovations in religious matters.

From this time onward the Shaikh and his family were victimized to such an extent that they had to flee from their house and had to wander about in search of a safe place. One can imagine the power of the ulama from the fact that even Shaikh Salim Chishti, who was at the height of his glory, could not dare to give refuge to them and could not intercede for them. He, however, sent them money through some of his disciples and told them that it would be better for them to go away to Gujarat. It was only after Shaikh Mubarak was convinced that Shaikh Salim Chishti would take no interest in him that he approached Mirza Aziz Koka who praised before Akbar the Shaikh's learning, his voluntary poverty and the superior talents of his two sons. He also told Akbar that Mubarak was a most trustworthy man, that he had never received land as a present and that in his opinion Mubarak was baselessly persecuted.

It was a critical time for the court u'ama who failed to understand the trend of the forces at work against them and who, through their vanity and harshness, lost the sympathy of many even among the orthodox theologians. For example scholars like Saiyid Rafi al-Din Shirazi[1], Maulana Jamal al-Din[2] and Shaikh Muhammad Daud[3] were under suspicion rightly or wrongly for holding Mahdawi or other heretical beliefs and thus were certainly not their friends. Like these

1. Rehman Ali, *Tazkira Ulama i-Hind*, p. 65
2 *Tazkira*, p. 31.
3 Badauni, III, pp. 28-29

there were eminent men who had nothing but praise for Saiyid Muhammad and his followers. Shaikh Mubarak, like other followers of Saiyid Muhammad, was strict in the observation of all the religious practices of Islam; and a curious situation had developed in which the suspicion of heresy fell upon those who were the more zealous in their observance of the teachings of Islam.[1] This tendency gave an opportunity to unscrupulous persons to accuse their enemies of heresy which created sympathy for the persecuted and won many enemies for the political power of orthodoxy.

The leading men among the court ulama whom Akbar inherited along with his crown and whom he paid the greatest respect were Makhdum al-Mulk Mulla Abd Allah Sultanpuri and Shaikh Abd al-Nabi. He had the greatest confidence in both of them. But both were very orthodox. They concentrated on *taqlid*, on believing and saying and doing exactly what had been believed and said and done by the rightly-guided orthodox ulama of the previous generations and did not tolerate any deviation from this. Even difference of opinion with them was regarded as deviation. They also wanted Akbar to support their cause and to use his authority to suppress those who disagreed with them and from whom they feared that they would subvert their influence.[2] They wanted Akbar to be at their beck and call, but he was too much of a free thinker to prove of assistance to them. On the contrary, their long, hair-splitting arguments and their bitter personal quarrels strongly influenced him towards his liberal course. The way for fostering mutual good-will and cooperation on spiritual plane had already been prepared by the Bhakti reformers and Muslim saints. Akbar took full advantage of these forces and derived ideological support from these movements in evolving his policy of peace with all. The gradual

1. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pak Sub-continent*, The Hague 1962, pp. 136-137
2. M. Mujeeb, *Indian Muslims*, London, 1967, pp. 238-39.

changes in Akbar's religious views were furthered by the suggestions of Shaikh Mubarak and the later confidential intercourse with the Shaikh's son Abul Fadl and Faidi which began about 1575. Other influences cooperated with their teachings. Jains, Parsis, Hindus of various schools of thought and Christians all took their share in modifying the opinion of the Emperor and determining the lines of his policy.[1]

This was the attitude of the orthodox court ulama whose actions turned Akbar against them and who were responsible to transform the clarification of a purely theological point into a grave religious and political problem.[2] Shaikh Mubarak also fell a prey to this very attitude of the ulama who were deadly against him. They not only tried to uproot him but when they failed in their designs they lost no opportunity to do him any disfavour they could. On one occasion Shaikh Abd al-Nabi not only rejected the request of Shaikh Mubarak and his five sons for the grant of some land (Madad-i-Maash) but also turned them out of his office in a very insulting manner We are informed: "One day Shaikh Mubarak with his five sons went to Makhdum al-Mulk and Shaikh Abd al-Nabi, the Sad al-Sudur and apprised them of his indigence and submitted that if he was favoured with the grant of 100 Bigha land (Madad-i-Maash), being contented and carefree, he would devote himself to the diffusion of religious knowledge. Since he was reputed to profess the Imamiya faith and that his sons also professed the same faith, and some say that he even belonged to the Mahdawiya sect, Makhdum al-Mulk and Shaikh Abd al-Nabi, as both of them were extremely orthodox in their Sunni faith, dismissed Shaikh Mubarak and his sons contemptuously and said, 'If you are finacially and economically well-off, you will propagate and popularise the Imamiya faith.' Shaikh Faidi, fired with wrathful zeal, declared, 'If I am the legitimate son of a

1. V.A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India,* Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 358.
2. M. Mujeeb, *op. cit*, p. 239.

Shaikh and profess a true religion I shall take such a vengeance upon you that it would be known throughout India.' "[1]

These were the events which led Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons to take revenge on the ulama on an intellectual plane when they found an opportunity to undermine their influence. These ulama were not united among themselves[2] and also were very jealous of one another. They had forgotten the danger which threatened them. Their power and influence must have been galling to the young and ambitious Akbar who complained that the court ulama wanted to share sovereignty and government with him.[3] It was at this time that Akbar, finding no way out to liberate himself from the influence of the court ulama, appealed to Shaikh Mubarak Nagori to do something to free him from their clutches which resulted in the form of the famous Mahzar in 911/1579. Shaikh Mubarak, throughout his life, remained away from politics and court life with a firm determination and when he entered. or more properly, was made by circumstances to enter the court politics, this determination was there. And the Mahzar was the result of an alien participation in politics with a vengeance.

It is to be noted here that this Mahzar or the Infallibility Decree has been much criticized by scholars. Sir Wolseley Haig says that the individual[4] responsible for putting the thought in the Emperor's head to become the spiritual as well as the temporal head was Shaikh Mubarak, father of Adul Fadl and Faidi, the court poet. Mubarak is represented as a free thinker, a reveller in spiritual experiences, a Sunni, a Shia, a Sufi and one who among other things also claims to

1. *Zakhirat al-Khawanin*, Ed. S Moin al-Haq, Karachi, I, pp. 68-69
2 For the story of the quarrels between Abd al-Nabi and Makhdum al-Mulk, see Badauni, II, p. 255
3. See Abul Fadl, *Ruqaat*, Ed. Hafiz Jalal al-Din Ahmed, 1927, pp. 24-25.
4. Sir Wolsely Haig, *Cambridge History of India,* Cambridge University Press, 1937, p 74-75

be the Mahdi. It seems that Mubarak, at the request of the Emperor, made the suggestion in 1573 but it came to fruition when the Emperor introduced a startling innovation by removing the leader of the prayer in the Jama Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri and occupied the pulpit himself and recited the Khutba himself in verse which was composed by Faidi. This address included a prayer for the sovereign, customary in such cases, and its last lines read:

> His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts,
> Exalted be His Majesty—"Allah-o-Akbar."[1]

This action gave much offence to the orthodox because the closing words may be read as "Akbar is God". It is considered as the beginning of the Emperor's planned renunciation of Islam.

Shaikh Mubarak who is regarded by Abul Fadl as among the select few "who understand the mysteries of both the worlds"[2] is said to have produced in his own handwriting a formal document making the Emperor supreme arbiter in all cases both ecclesiastical and civil. By this Mahzar he recognized Akbar as Imam-i-Adil and Mujtahid (Just Imam and interpreter of Muslim Law) and invested him with the role of final interpreter where the rival schools could not agree. The Mahzar says:

> Now we, the principal Ulama who . . . have duly considered the deep meaning, first, of the verse of the Quran 'Obey God and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you', and secondly, of the genuine tradition 'surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of Judgment is the Imam-i-Adil: whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Thee; and whosoever rebels against him rebels

1. *Akbar Nama*, III, p 396. Badauni, II, p 276
2. Haig, *op. cit*, p 114; Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, Oxford, 1927, p. 166. Both record the remark of Abul Fadl.

> against thee'; and thirdly of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony, we have agreed that the rank of Sultan-i-Adil is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of Mujtahid.
>
> Further, we declare that the King of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, shadow of God on the world, Padshah-i-Ghazi (whose kingdom God perpetuate), is a most just, most wise and a most God-fearing king.
>
> Should, therefore, in the future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinion of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and should issue a decree shall be binding upon us and the whole nation.[1]

This document was signed, under duress, by all the principal ulama including the historian Badauni. Makhdum al-Mulk and Shaikh Abd al-Nabi also signed the decree both of whom so disliked Shaikh Mubarak that they left no stone unturned to uproot him and his family.[2]

No doubt, in the opinion of Haig and Smith, the Emperor at the instigation of Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons was intent on assuming spiritual and temporal authority over his subjects, making him 'Pope as well as King.'[3] Haig looks upon the entire proceeding as a disgraceful machination which led Akbar to pass from one hypocrisy to another, and "so far was he from propagating Islam that he ridiculed and persecuted it, and shortly afterwards attempted to substitute for it a religion of his own invention."[4]

This Mahzar has been judged by scholars in different

1. Badauni, II, p. 279.
2. See Chaudhary, *Din-i-Ilahi or the Religion of Akbar*, Calcutta, 1952, pp. 35-36 and 46.
3. Haig, Vol. IV, pp. 121 ff , 123.
4. ibid., p. 123.

lights. It was the logical second step of which the recital of Khutba was the first. The intent of this document was, by Badauni's own admission, political and the recital affected by indirection, "the religio-political supremacy of the Khalifa of Rum and Shah of Iran."[1] Humayun had read the Khutba in the name of Shah Tahmasp as a mark of acceptance of the Shia creed. Moreover, in this way Akbar found a chance to separate himself from the restrictions of religious controversy and at the same time to control them. But it was also the result of the evil machinations of the religious dignitaries at the court of Akbar to establish their supremacy and to persecute all those who disagreed with them.

During this period of about six years Akbar had gained a fairly large experience of the machinations, the mentality and the desire of the ulama to share the sovereignty and government with him of which he had once complained.[2] He, therefore, found that there could be no better chance than this one to assume the position of temporal as well as spiritual head of the state. From that time onwards Akbar became less punctilious in matters relating to orthodox Islam. Dr. Chaudhary observes: "The larger problems of the state were considered and discussed from the standpoint of reason and principles."[3] There can be little doubt that it was a patently dishonest document and Shaikh Mubarak of all people must have known it to be so.[4]

From the very childhood Akbar was a contemplative. He was regular in his devotions and offered his daily prayers

1. *Din-i-Ilahi*, p. 68.
2. Abul Fadl, *Ruqaat*, Edited by Hafiz Jala al-Din Ahmad, 1927. pp. 24-25.
3. M.L. Raychaudhari, *State and Religion in the Moghul India*, p. 200
4. See Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p 141, see also Abul Kalam Azad, *Tazkira*, Edited by Malik Ram, New Delhi, 1968, p. 41. The Maulana is also of the opinion that the family of Mulla Mubarak (Abul Fadl and Faidi), in order to deprive the ulama of their hold on state affairs, got the Mahzar prepared by their father.

regularly. He built new mosques and had great regard for the religious scholars and deep faith in Muslim Divines. Ritual and religious ceremonial meant much to his subjects and as a father of his people he felt duty-bound to accord such things equal respect. He venerated a stone which was supposed to bear an impression of the foot of Muhammad the Prophet and which was brought from Mecca by Saiyid Mir Abu Turab. But later on he did things which were contrary to the accepted practice. In fact he did not believe he was challenging Islam, but only the conception of Islam that had become standardized by the fundamentalists. Akbar believed in the reconciliation of all. This thinking could only lead to an entirely new concept of the Muslim State; to the fundamentalists this was not Islam, it was heresy, and they labelled Akbar an atheist.[1] The avowed principle of both Akbar and Abul Fadl was universal toleration (*sulh-i-kul*). This policy was not determined mainly by his personal fancies or beliefs in matters of religion. At an early age he perceived the political necessity of impartiality with his subjects, irrespective of caste, creed or religion.[2] Moreover the measures which offended the ulama much were his generous and wise political acts by which he was successful in winning over the sympathies of all the sections of his subjects. He thus became the symbol of unity of India and its people and for the first time in the history of India a foreign ruler completely identified himself with the hopes, the aspirations and the fears of the people. It was obvious to him that the Hindus would never become Muslims, nor the Muslims Hindus, then why not combine the best elements of all faiths and satisfy everyone. But this attempt to create a faith pleasing to all proved pleasing to none. He only became an object of trenchant attack of the theologians.

1. Abbott Freeland, 'Islam in India before Shah Waliullah,' *Studies in Islam*, New Delhi, Vol. I, No. 2, April 1964, pp. 103-104.
2. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

All the Mahdawi as well as non-Mahdawi sources claim that Shaikh Mubarak was sympathetically inclined towards the Mahdawi faith. In the court circles his belief in Mahdawi tenets resulted in his persecution, and on account of these beliefs he was hounded from pillar to post. So great was the influence of the court ulama that none could dare give him shelter.

In spite of the claim of the Mahdawi sources that Shaikh Mubarak was a staunch Mahdawi, no clear indication is given in any of the sources as to when and at whose hands he accepted the Mahdawi faith and if he ever lived in any of the Mahdawi Dairah ?

Though none of the non-Mahdawi sources mention the existence of any Mahdawi Dairahs at Nagore, however, modern Mahdawi scholars claim the Bandagi Miyan Shah Nimat remained in his Dairah at Nagore for some time [1] Among the non-Mahdawi sources, Badauni says, "Abd al-Nabi, Makhdum al-Mulk and other ulama complained to Akbar that Shaikh Mubarak is a Mahdawi as well as an innovator and is not only himself damned but leads others to damnation.[2] He was a supporter of Shaikh Alai in the court of Islam Shah and from that day he was known to be a Mahdawi. To Mahmud Khan, a zealous supporter of Shaikh Alai, he had given the title of Saif Allah (the sword of God).[3] In *Nijat al-Rahsid* Badauni says that one of the great men of this group was Shaikh Mubarak Nagori. He had invented a chronogram in the words Mada Mahdi (The Mahdi has departed) which gives 910 A.H. as the date of the Mahdi's death.[4]

1. Saiyid Wali, *Insaf Nama*, Hyderabad, 1949, Ch. VIII.
2. *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, II, p. 198
3. Badauni, I, pp 394-402, III, p 46; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, II, pp. 115-117, *Farishta*, II, pp 232-233, Nihawandi, *Maathir-i-Rahimi*, I, pp. 637-639; *Maathir al-Umara*, III, p 253.
4. Badauni, *Nijat al-Rashid* (MS Aligarh), p. 386

Shaikh Mubarak had addressed a letter to Abd al-Malik at Sujawandi, popularly known as Alim Billah, the author of *Siral al-Absar* and a famous Mahdawi scholar, in which he says: "In the mind of this unlucky but sympathetically inclined wretch some doubts by way of seeking truth and not by way of bigotry and prejudice have arisen. Their removal is requested".[1] Another reliable Mahdawi source, the *Minhaj al-Taqwin* by Abd al-Malik at Sujawandi also supports the contention that Shaikh Mubarak was of the Mahdawi persuation. Referring to the letter of Shaikh Mubarak raising certain questions and asking for clarification, the author of *Minhaj* praises him lavishly and says · "This letter is from a virtuous brother (in faith) and a pious man of Agra".[2]

Malik Sulaiman, the author of *Tarikh-i-Sulaimani* also counts him among one of the staunch Mahdawis and says that Shaikh Mubarak was a pious man and a great scholar. He had accepted Mahdism at the hands of the companions of the Mahdi.[3] The name of the companion of the Mahdi at whose hands Shaikh Mubarak accepted Mahdism is not, however, mentioned. In the non-Mahdawi circle too he was believed to be a Mahdawi only after he supported Shaikh Alai openly and fearlessly in the court of Islam Shah Sur.[4] This verbal support to Shaikh Alai cost him too much.

Some of the scholars have even gone so far as to declare Shaikh Khidr, the father of Shaikh Mubarak, a Mahdawi.[5] Even Faidi is regarded to be favourably inclined towards the

1 *Siraj al-Absar* (*Muqaddimah*), p. 230.
2. ibid., p. 231.
3. Malik Sulaiman, *Tarikh-i-Sulaimani*, Gulshan VIII, Chaman IV. (MS Dabhoi).
4. See *Maathir al-Umara*, III, p. 254 . Shibli Nomani, *Sh'ir al-Ajam*, p. 57, Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan, *Tahzib ul-Akhlaq*, p. 398. The *Tarikh-i-Sulaimani*, a Mahdawi source, also supports the contention: Gulshan VIII, Chaman IV, *Muqaddimah Siraj al-Absar*, p. 231.
5. Akbar Shah Khan Najibabadi, *Qaul-i-Aaq*, pp. 117-118.

teachings of the Mahdi. It is said that on his way to Bijapur he came in contact with Bandagi Miyan Saiyid Yousuf, the author of *Matla al-Wilayat* and made an enquiry about the Mahdi and the Mahdawis.[1] Modern Mahdawi authors claim that Faidi was a Mahdawi and in their support quote one of his couplets.[2]

Regarding Abul Fadl it is believed that he was also of the Mahdawi persuation but on account of his relationship with Akbar, the opposition of the ulama and the greed for worldly wealth, he practised Taqaiyyah (dissimulation or concealment of belief, passing as orthodox Muslim) and even tried to prove that his father also had no Mahdawi beliefs.[3] But this is doubtful since after they were in power and there was no need for them to practise Taqaiyyah and they had to fear none, Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons did not openly declare their Mahdawi beliefs.

Some modern scholars, however, nickname Abul Fadl and Faidi as, "two evil geniuses of the court of Akbar" and contend "that it would not be surprising if the father (Shaikh Mubarak) had also communicated Mahdawi beliefs to his sons who cleverly thought of investing Akbar with the glory of the Mahdi.[4]

Let us now see to what extent the allegation upon Shaikh Mubarak of being a Mahdawi is confirmed by Shaikh Mubarak's ideas and actions.

Shaikh Mubarak and his sons were directly or indirectly influenced by Indian and Iranian trends of thought such as

1. Saiyid Yousuf, *Matla al-Wilayat*, Hyderabad, 1374 A.H., p. 6.
2 *Faidi, n-shawad khatima-i ma b-wilayat*
Ta Khatm-i imaman-i huda ra n-shinasem
—*Diwan-i-Faidi* (MS Asafiya, Hyderabad),
cf. *Siraj al-Absar, Muqaddimah*, p. 233
3. This is suggested to me by a Mahdawi scholar in his personal communication.
4. *Islamic Studies* (Karachi, 1963), Article 'Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri' by A.S. Buzmee Ansari, pp. 68-69

the Bhakti movement of India and the Nuqtawi[1] movement of Iran which later on came over to India and had its lasting influence on a large number of people. Abul Fadl says : "He had received from the great teacher (God) every kind of knowledge. He removed the veil of formal science from over spiritual beauty and cultivated seclusion in the midst of society. In spite of his profound insight he did not see his own perception and devotion (i.e., was not conscious of them) and did not bring his goods to market."[2]

According to Badauni also Shaikh Mubarak was never contented in the quest of knowledge. Despite his extensive knowledge of traditional faith he tried to ascertain the truth from every religion, Shia, Mahdawi, Christians, Parsis, Hindus and Jains who met him and who were always impressed by his sympathetic attitude towards their religions. According to Abul Fadl people accused him of Shia leanings but they did not understand that knowledge is one thing and profession another.[3]

Shaikh Mubarak was a man of convictions and strong will and could suffer for them. His contemporaries had a very high opinion of him. "He was one of the great Sufis of his age and was distinguished among the men of his time and his contemporaries for his piety, devotion and trust in God. In his early life he had observed many austerities and strove much in the way of holiness, and was so zealous in enforcing the commands and prohibition of the holy law that if anybody was present while he was giving religious instructions wearing a golden ring or silk clothing or red hose or red or yellow garments he at once made him remove them and if

1. For the Nuqtawi movement see Prof Nazir Ahmad, *Firqa-i-Nuqtawi Per Ek Tairana Nazar*, in *Tarikhi wa Adabi Mutalai*, Aligarh, 1961, pp. 1-26, Dr. Sadiq Kiya, *Agahihaye Taza Az Haroofian* , *Mujalla-i-Danishkada-i Adabiyat*, Vol. II, No 2, pp 39-65.
2. *Akbar Namah*, III, p. 643, Beveridge, III, p. 958
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 265, Jarrett, III, p. 428.

anyone appeared with long breeches, descending below the heel he immediately had them torn to the proper length. If while walking through the streets he heard the noise of any singing he would start violently . . . For some time during the reign of Afghan emperors he used to keep company with Shaikh Alai, and in the beginning of Akbar's reign when the Naqshbandi order was in great esteem, he adopted himself to their rule and for sometime he was attached to the Hamadani Shaikhs and at last when the Iraqis were in great favour at court he spoke as one of their religion

"Converse with men according to their understanding" was his practice. He was always employed in giving religious instruction . . and unlike most other learned men of India he practised their system thoroughly.

"He never went to the houses of nobles, but was a very pleasant companion, and had a great stock of wonderful anecdotes."[1]

In fact Mubarak was a very dynamic figure of his age and exercised appreciable influence on the religious thought and trends of the period

As had already been mentioned Shaikh Mubarak had endured many hardships in his early life He despised wealth and influence. He once had developed 'other worldly' attitude and would have renounced the world but for Shaikh Yousuf who advised him to go to Agra and set up a madarsah there. During the Afghan rule he had declined the offer of a suitable freehold and thus had raised his own reputation.[2] His attitude towards the life resembled to great extent those of the Mahdawis and there is no doubt that he not only liked their way of life but also had great sympathy for them because of their sufferings on account of their piety. The whole of his early life shows how closely he resembled

1. *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, Haig, III, pp 118-119.
2 *Ain-i- Akbari*, II, p. 297, Jarret, III, p. 416; *Insha-i-Abul Fazl*, 1262/ 1845, III, p. 342, Delhi

the way of life of the Mahdawis of his age. Had he not been harassed and persecuted by the court ulama he would have never striven to do what he is accused of doing in later life. It was nothing but his desire to take revenge for his sufferings and it was only to free Akbar from the hold of the dishonest ulama and the unfaithful theologians[1] that he prepared the famous Mahzar sealing the future career of the ulama of Islam.

No doubt he remained associated with the Mahdawis and had deep sympathy for them and a soft corner for their teachings. But it is doubtful that he practically participated in the activities of the Mahdawi leaders and joined any of their Dairahs. This contention is supported by the fact that when in 1572 Shaikh Abd al-Rashid was assassinated and Miyan Mustafa Gujarati and his son Miyan Abd Allah, the two pious Mahdawis were imprisoned and their families were insulted and dragged, there was none who could support and sympathize with them. It may, however, be said that he alongwith his sons was supporting the mission of Akbar in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity and building up an Indian nation out of the mutually antagonistic sections of Indian people.

To accuse them responsible for the irreligious leanings of Akbar is not justified as Akbar had initiated his unique policy much before he became acquainted with Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons to whose influence his liberalism is sometimes attributed. The real character of Akbar's policy from which sprang his various measures was based on his extra-ordinary personality, the influence of his ancestry upon him, the cultural environment of the age and the political vicissitudes through which his early life had passed. His policy emanated from an innate moral conviction that no

1 *Zakhira Danishgah-i-Sind* quoted by Azra Nizamin in 'Socio-Religious Outlook of Abul Fadl', *Medieval India*, a miscellany. Vol II, Aligarh, 1972, p. 145.

religion could warrant any unjust distinction between men and men. It implied a recognition of humanity as a manifestation of God's will. Beneath the superficial diversities he could see a harmonizing thread of unity and oneness and he was the first Indian ruler who ventured on a comparative study of the religions of the world. The Mubarak family simply strengthened Akbar's hands wholeheartedly.

S. H. ASKARI

Two Hindu Historians of the Early Eighteenth Century

TO many it may seem paradoxical that Indian culture, one of the oldest in the world, and a country justly famed for its highly intellectual and creative traditions and rich contributions to the varied fields, and to practically all the branches of learning, arts, sciences and literature, should fail to provide the posterity, till the advent of the Muslims, with records of real episodes and personalities of the past and historical thoughts and scholarship. While some have tried to explain and account for the attitude of their indifference to historical events, and neglect of the study of history by the Hindus, as due to the stress they laid on spiritual and other-worldiness, others have taken pains to dispel what they consider as an illusion of the paradox that old Indian literature had little or no sense of history. They refer to the topics of historiography displayed in various ways in ancient Indian literature, at different periods, and say that the list of kings and of dynastic geneologies, preserved in Puranic literature, and allusive references to places, persons, political and cultural figures, and events and episodes of importance found in works of Drama and religion show a tendency towards an approach and approximation to formal history. Ancient

Sanskrit literature may not be devoid of raw materials of history and coins and inscriptions, and certain valuable references in literary and religious works do actually furnish very fruitful data for the reconstruction of the past. But after great researches history as understood even in modest terms as a chronicle of events with an eye to objectivity has not been in evidence till the end of the Hindu period, and real writing of history came up after the assumption of power in India by the Muslims.

We may presume, though there is no definite evidence, that the celebrated 12th century Kashmiri Pandit, Kalhana, the author of *Rajatarangini*, had some associations with those who had strong sense of history. But if some familiarity with the Muslim chronicle traditions be taken as the special condition which brought forth the first and the solitary work of history by a Hindu, why was it not followed for centuries with similar works by some of his compatriots who had closer contact with Muslim writers and rulers. If it is argued that history as a form of literature flourishes under the auspices and patronage of those who had supreme power and authority and does not survive the loss of political power, the question as to when and where had such literature existed will have to be answered. Of course, there were still numerous Hindu states, including some which were great, and one has been given the status of an empire. They might have maintained their court chroniclers or historians of their own. But where are the works produced by them ? Rajasthan was rich in bardic literature; but bards were eulogists and not sober or realistic chroniclers or historians. The Khayati and Bansawali literature, dealing with notable personalities and geneologies, have got their value; but they also may not be taken as an approach and approximation to the sciences of objective historiography. Scantiness of real andfactual records, treated chronologically or topically, produced and preserved by the Hindus is, perhaps, undeniable till the close of the 17th century. The Hindus were perhaps interested more in

philosophy than history; they lacked historiographical traditions, and, therefore, old Indian literature, as a whole, had little or no true historical writing.

Evidences are not wanting about a number of Hindus learning the prevalent official language of the Muslim rulers that is Persian, and acquiring proficiency in it even during the Sultanate period. The case of a favourite Hindu official, probably a Punjabi Hindu, of Firozshah Tughlaq. who has been described as a "Farsi Nawis-i-Muqarrari" who unfortunately fell a victim to the wrath of the fanatical Mullahs because of his liberal outlook with staunch adherence to his own faith, is an instance in point. The Kayasthas of Bulandshahr enthusiastically responded to the call of Sikandar Lodi to take up the study of the official language if they wanted to enter government service. Thus Persian, as a passport for employment, had already attracted the attention of the Hindus before the coming of the Mughals, and by the time of Akbar and Jehangir it had established its hold on many intellectual Hindus The celebrated Raja Man Singh had become so adept as a dialogist in Persian and had become so well versed in the Quran that his prompt and apt quotations from the holy book of the Muslims filled the saint of Maner Sharif (in Bihar) named Shah Daulat with surprise. The interesting talk between the two has been recorded in *Zakhirat-ul-Khawaqin* and also in *Maasir-ul-Umara*. In the time of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb and their successors many Hindus shone at their best as poets, lexicographers, writers of ornate epistolographical books, and as compilers of *Dastur-ul-Amal* or manuals containing statistical accounts, records, rules and regulations of government. But only a few of them turned their intellectual pursuits towards historical studies

After a lapse of about five centuries an important general history of India, the second major work of history, next in importance to that of *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, was produced in 1107=1695-6 by a Panjabi Khatri, Sujan Singh, who named his work as *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* or Essence of

History. It had been slightly ante-dated by a much less important work, *Lubbut-Tawarikh* or Marrow of History, written in 1101, by Brindaban Das, son of Rai Bharamal. After a long void between *Rajatarangini* of the 12th century and the 17th century works there seem to have come the dawn of historical consciousness. Perhaps to satisfy their intellectual thirst, or for some other reasons, the Hindus took to historical studies, and showed considerable activity, making valuable contribution to historical literature. The doyen of Indian historians, the late lamented Sri Jadunath Sarkar, wrote separate papers on *Dilkusha* of Bhimsen Kyath of Burhanpur and *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* by Ishwar Das Nagar, and described the former as a great Hindu memoir writer. Just a glance at the pages of Storey's Bibliographical survey, of the last two volumes of Elliot and Dowson, and of Saiyid Abdullah's book entitled *Adabiyat-i-Farsi men Hinduon ka Hissa* will suffice to know the number, nature, worth and value of the historical works produced by the Hindus.

A striking fact about the historical works is that they were produced by the Hindus in an age of reaction and that of speedy political disintegration when Mughal politics was tending to degenerate into a series of personal vendetta and struggles between rival groups, and when factors, internal and external, were sapping the vitality of the Empire. The history of the later Mughals is largely a story of political decline and decay, dismemberment and dissolution of the great Empire, because none of the crowned heads were cast in the mould of the great so as to make any independent decision of their own, arrest the forces and processes of centrifugalization which were at work with a vengeance, and keep the machinery of government strong and intact. What motivated the Hindu historians, some of whom were men of lower rung of civil administration, while others were private persons, to write what they saw, read or heard about things happening in their time or in near contemporary periods? Was it because of the virtual ban placed after the composition of

Alamgir Nama which covered only the first ten years of the reign of Aurangzeb, and need was felt to fill up the gap? Was it for fear, and did they write from a desire to please or flatter their superiors? We do not get any light on such things or any hint of their interested motives from their own writings. Was it a matter of conscience with them to obtain and write about facts as they actually happened? Were they imbued with the motivation of edification? Like many Muslim chroniclers they were also perhaps of the view that history had a moral purpose to serve. The historian, Khushhalchand, and his contemporary, Sheodas of Lucknow, were definitely of this view, for they have given sufficient indication that they had a moralizing aim in view.

Sheodas whose book entitled *Shahnana-i-Munawwar Kalam* gives "detached historical narrative and court news with many official letters and *farmans* relating to the reign of Farrukhsiyar and the first four years of Muhammad Shah (1712 to 1723) writes in the preface: "Although it was, and is, beyond the capacity of this devoted and humble servant, a mere atom, to compose a work containing fresh acts of His (God's) justice which are calculated to intimidate and punish the oppressive tyrants so that it should serve as warning for shortsighted improvident persons, yet as he had received his training in the company of the men of exalted dignity and of supreme wisdom, and spent a life in the blessed services of great intellectuals, and was engaged in the art of elegant writing, he has written down a little of what he had gained." The historian, Khushhalchand, writes in his rare and still unpublished work, entitled *Nadir uz-Zamani* or *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*: "I have presented a brief survey of pleasing events and unique occurrences so that it may cheer the hearts of the readers and also serve as a lesson to and touch the nice sense of honour of men of sincerity and fidelity and also of men of prevarications and hypocrisy. The chief object of this poor and humble man is to provide in one single book for truth-loving people and seekers of unique occurrences treasure and

stores of signification and of acute subtelties, so that its perusal may augment the sense of prudence and perception of far-seeing people, and serve us an eye-opener and touch their sense of honour. Having perused all about the occurrences of the past and the present they should awaken from the sleep of carelessness and negligence and pursue the path of fidelity and submission."

Beveridge, while extolling the virtues of the historian, Sujan Rai Dhir, whom he described as the "Indian Herodotus" and as "the first Hindu who wrote history with the doubtful exception of the author of *Rajatarangini*" expresses his view that the author of *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* had better notion than most Muslim writers. The mental habit of the Hindus and their way of looking at things were, perhaps, different from those of the Muslims; and they were largely free from certain inhibitions which many of the Muslim writers suffered from. They were not carried away by passions, prejudices, and patriotism of a narrow and opportunistic type, and though displaying reasonable loyalty to the crown they kept themselves aloof from mutual quarrels and intrigues of leading and designing nobles add courtiers. While writing about political figures they used strong language in according praise and blame only when the interests of the Empire and the country were involved. They were perhaps in a better position to make a realistic appraisal and assessment of personalities, problems and events. Such things can be amply illustrated from Khushhalchand's book containing political and administrative narrative up to 1756. It deals with more intricate problems than those found in the book of Sheodas. Both these writers, and in fact most of the Hindu historians, write much that is their own and not borrowed and, their works have some special and distinctive features.

In considering the character and historical value of such original works of the Hindu historians or chroniclers one is reminded of Elliot's sweeping remark "Indian chroniclers are for the most part dull, prejudiced, ignorant and superficial,"

and "their works comprise nothing but a mere dry narration of events." We may also consider what the well known, Muslim historian of Persian extraction, Khafi Khan, while commenting on the attitude and writings of some of his contemporaries, says. He bemoans : "In these changeful and wonderful times men have shown a partiality or an animosity on one side or the other, exceeding all bounds." Do all these apply to Sheodas and Khushhalchand ? Were they mere austere chroniclers or annalists without any objective and critical attitude and a reflective mind ? Should we take the factual details furnished by them, on the basis of what they got from trustworthy sources, or what they saw or heard when serving or being associated with others as nothing more than a collection of dry as dust stuffs ? Did they belong to, or were they influenced by, any party in the court or men of the ruling groups; and while dealing with, and giving their estimate of the personalities and policy of many of the notables and controversial figures, did they display any excessive bias or partisanship for any ? A perusal of their works reveals that they were men of learning and intelligence. They, specially Khushhalchand, have offered their objective narrative, making shrewd reflections on men and matters, sometimes drawing inferences from character and course of action of the men of an age of commotion, decay and demoralization. Much of the information they furnish is not necessarily in accord with the findings of other chroniclers, and many of the material they present are new and make substantial addition to our knowledge of the subject; their works were not command performances, but the results of some inner urge to inform and instruct.

Both Sheodas and Khushhalchand were imperialists in sympathy and outlook. But while the former was largely noncommittal, the latter was quite outspoken and did not mince matters. He did not spare any, not even the Emperor, the merry Muhammad Shah, for acts of omission and commission which proved harmful to the interests of the Empire.

Regarding the Saiyid King makers, Abdullah Khan and Saiyid Husain Ali Khan, following the opprobious expression coined by Muhammad Shah in respect of these he writes: "These two ungrateful (*Haram Namak*), villainous (*Shaqawat Asar*) brothers decided to retaliate against that crocodile (Nizam-ul-Mulk) by drawing him into the sea of troubles, and did not realise how the Real Avenger would chastise them for their detestable deed of killing their beneficent lord and master, and that they would themselves be trampled upon and annihilated" (1006). He accuses the elder brother, casting lustful eyes on the widowed wife of a king of his own making (*Rafi-ud-Darajat*), and says how the arrogant young brother was humiliated by his puppet king who forced him to draw off his stockings in the open Darbar. He refers to the popular outcry against Ajit Singh, the Rathor Raja of Marwar, "the Slayer of his royal son-in-law" (*Damad Kush*), and tells us how he was killed in his bed by his own younger son, Bakhat Singh, for his misbehaviour towards his daughter-in-law. Of the three Panipat brothers, though he was eulogistic of Sher Afgan, he made bitter remarks against Lutfullah Khan Sadiq who, he says, held the rank of 7,000 but never entertained even 7 asses, much less, horses or horse riders; for many miles round his own home town of Panipat, he had seized the lands of others, and passed his days, despite his nominal great rank, as a mere *Dehqan* (rustic). Commenting on the downfall of the four notorious court favourites of Muhammad Shah including the woman Koki Jive, he writes, "From the time of their punishment which occurred in the 14th year till today which is the 28th year of accession, all the functionaries of honour and dignity have been enjoying their offices as before; but it has not been possible for any to obtain such an immense wealth as has been amassed by these four persons. The situation of the state services is the same and the established imperial dominion stands as before. Where have the gold and riches of the sovereign state which had been collected by these four persons gone ? They did not come back to

the imperial exchequer, nor did anything reach the hands of others (1063).

Referring to the ineffective compaigns against the Merhattas, who have often been described as "execrated plunderers" (*Ghanim-i-La'im*) he writes: "How could they give serious thought to this affair (chastisement of the Marhattas) when constantly such a Rajadhiraj as Raja Jai Singh (the astronomer prince of Amber) should have to be put in charge of this difficult job, and similarly when Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk should remain fixed up in absolute possession of and be mainly concerned with his sway over the Deccan at a time when these groups of accursed people were busy raising the dust of storms of sedition and disturbances in these very provinces. In such a situation why should not the stories of doubts and disputes that were current among people, high and low, be taken as correct; and be affirmed by men of thought and wisdom, the more so, as the matter was not devoid of the vested interests of such a pillar of the State (Nizam). It would not be farfetched to think that in such a situation they did ascribe various motives. Some such thing in regard to Fath-jung Bahadur (Nizam) has already been recorded in the previous pages; and as regards what happened on the side of the Rajadhiraj, an affinity had already been established between him and Raja Sahu, the chief leader of those groups of people. God forbid for what purposes should doubts and dissensions come from the tongue of the pen (*Zaban-e-Qalam*), specially as nobody can put a curb on the tongue of the people."

The trenchant criticism of the court party in connection with the events leading to Nadir Shah's invasion is also well worth attention. Khushhalchand refers to the highly confused condition that had developed after the death of Aurangzeb. Neither the kings remained safe nor the Wazirs, there were neither rules and regulations nor counsels and deliberations. The hopeful beginnings of Muhammad Shah's reign ended soon. Deterioration would not have set in if big and highly dignified Omarahs and Khans had correctly understood the

nature and position of their beneficent lord, and if they had not vied with one another in their rivalry, quarrels and hypocitical deeds. Moreover, if His Majesty had personally looked after the affairs of the state, in accordance with the practices of the previous caliphs, it would not have been possible for strange things to happen. The lord of the world had left complete authority and control of the Subahs of the Empire in the hands of the chiefs of the big nobles of the state and made no enquiries and investigation into the good and bad of things that had been occurring in each of the provinces, and he bestowed no care, and showed no assiduity in checking the correctness or falsity of the reports of the men of intelligence department. This accounts for the suspension of the salaries and allowances of the regiments deputed on the side of Kabul, specially after the death of Raushan-ud-Daula Zafar Khan, with the result that all the people in that subah were distressed, disspirited and dejected (1085).

Then the historian goes on to say that there were in the Empire at that time four great pillars of the state, and each one acted in opposition to the other. The first, Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk, is always engrossed with the thoughts that whatever happens, it should be through him, whatever is done by others is not acceptable to or approved of by him. The second, the premier noble, Samsam-ud-Daula Khan-i-Dauran, keeps himself mostly employed in carrying out the wishes of his beneficent master; sometimes he is engaged in paying attention to the wishes of the other pillars of the state; but mostly he keeps in view the safety and security of his own person. As for Jumlat-ul-Mulk (Qamaruddin Khan), the centre of affairs, the Wazir of the Empire, the subject of the constant thoughts is carousing and banqueting and he is mainly concerned with wine and music. The fourth, Burhan-ul-Mulk (Saadat Khan) is always solicitious about himself and busy with self-laudation and self displaying (1085-86). The first three were ordered to start on Sunday, 1 Ramzan, year 21 or 1151 to face the Persian invader, and were pressed

several times to take a vow for being of one heart and of one tongue. These renowned chiefs agreed to be unanimous and resolute in carrying out the royal affairs and finishing the momentous business successfully. More than one month and a few days were passed; there was no planning, no concord, no unity of purpose, and they did not step out of their places even for one yard." (ff. 1085). This fairly correct evaluation of the character and personality of the top-most grandees by the Hindu historian shows his shrewd insight and independent and impartial attitude.

Khushhalchand tells us many interesting and new things about Mughal-Marhatta relations, specially the activities of Baji Rao. The pact concluded by Husain Ali Khan for the sake of his own aspirations had far-reaching results. The virtual recognition of Marhatta claims of Swaraj and the right to collect Chowth and Sardeshmukhi for the six Subahs of the Deccan; their entry into Delhi; the opportunity given to them to review the rotten nature of the faction-ridden court of the Mughals; and the end of 40 years' custody of Sahu's close relatives — heralded the political turmoil that was destined eventually to engulf the empire in ruin. The power-grabbing second Peshwa, the highest dignitary of the Marhatta state, had enthralled even his imperial master by his historic speech in the withering trunk, and the branches would fall of themselves in all directions. He led and sent the Marhatta military congeries across the Narbada into Malwa, Gujerat and parts of central and northern India, and at the same time posed to be the protector, and manager of the Empire of the Mughals of which he once served as a provincial governor. The semblance of loyalty and devotion was not given up even by his son and successor. The pretence of owing allegiance to two different monarchy, a strange spectacle of statecraft, could not be sustained, though as late as April 1737, when Wazir Qamaruddin Khan asked the Harkara of Baji Rao shortly after his dash on Delhi as to where his Rao was, he got the deceptive reply that "he had arrived

at the imperial metropolis and had the honour of paying his respects to His Imperial Majesty". Such things could deceive none but selfish political nincompoops like the Amir-ul-Umara Samsam-ud-daula who was always guided by the interested advice of Raja Jai Singh Sawai, the strongest pillar of the Hindu revivalist movement of the time.

Baji Rao knew the value and utility of Hindu alliances, and cultivated the friendship of the powerful rulers of Rajasthan and Bundelkhand and had good response from the Hindu people and Zamindars of Malwa. Muhammad Khan Bangash, Governor of Malwa, writes in 1937 in a letter: "A number of Hindu chiefs are in collusion with them (Marhattas) and are strengthening the hands of these wretches." Referring to the affairs of Bundelkhand, Khushhalchand writes: "In subtle manner the Deccanis established their domination over the region for owing to their good fortune the big Omarahs and the Zamindars of honour and reputations acted their guides, supported them, and gave them access to these lands." The papers of Mandloi Daftar and of the Jaipur archives provide enough evidence of this state of affairs. An important impediment was expected from Nizam-ul-Mulk; but he felt no scruple in securing the diversion of the Deccanis from his own to the imperial territories north of the Narbada. Our historian writes: "As disunity and discords among ministers embroils and spoils the state in its finances and causes confusion and disturbances in the country, Nizam-ul-Mulk summoned Kanthaji Deccani with a large force to support Hamid Khan (his uncle). May God be our refuge! This black calamity (*Bala-i-Siyah*) got admission into Hindustan and the Alexandrian wall was shattered" (79). He writes elsewhere "The aggressive Ghanim (plunderers), being at ease, and gratified with the affairs of Gujerat Subah, extended their hands for the possession of Malwa, and overwhelmed Girdhar Bahadur. The increasing incursion of the Ghanim in Hindustan led those who were in attendance at the imperial court to attribute all this to Nizam-ul-Mulk. As

the designing hands of these ungenerous counsellors of government could not reach that personage they had to resign themselves to their lot. In course of time they penetrated into the environs of the Akberabad (Agra) Subah, and collected the amount of Chowth. The Rajahs, Rayans, and Zamindars of the region who paid the amount remained unmolested, and those who evaded its payment were thrown down on the dust of adversity" (86).

Some modern chauvinistic writers go so far as to say that Baji Rao and his enterprising commanders were imbued with the conception of Hindu Pad-Padshahi and the noble ideal of relieving Hindus from long-continued servitude and oppressive rule of the Muslims and their aides and conquests were undertaken with the definite object of gaining possession of imperial territories. Let us see what Khushhalchand says or suggests. He has recorded an interesting dialogue between a Mughal noble, Khidmatgar Khan, and Baji Rao which he himself heard from the former. When questioned as to why in spite of having such a big and extensive territory in the south over which he was the disperser of the sustenance of the people and had sown the seeds of his fortune he was imposing on himself such hardships and worries over such activities, he replied : "Truly it is so as you have said; but for a long time it was the heartfelt desire of our people to have our bath in the Narbada river, and that could not be done without difficulty. Today by the favour of His Imperial Majesty we are in a position to perform our ceremonial bath and take dip in the river Ganges at Kashipur and Banaras and even beyond. Moveover, it is a fact that from this place to that nobody placed any barrier in our way, and not a single person came forward to be of service to his benevolent master." The questioner pointed out how Girdhar Bahadur had proved true to the salt that he had taken, and sacrificed himself for his lord. Baji Rao said : "He did so because of his foolishness (*Jehālat*); he had neither the awareness enough to support the cause of the state and what could be done by efforts, nor did

he make common cause with us, and consequently courted his ruin" (97).

Girdhar Bahadur and his family members were actuated neither by their loyalty and devotion to their imperial master, nor by the revivalist spirit like many of the Hindus of the time to attain liberation from their subjection to the political and religio-cultural domination of the Muslims, but by their personal selfish ambition to carve Malwa into a hereditary kingdom of the Nagor Brahmin family, just as the Turani Nizam was doing in the Deccan. As for the great champion of the Hindu cause, Baji Rao, and his Marhatta hordes, they did not refrain themselves from devastating many flourishing towns and cities of Gujerat Subah, specially 'Badhnagar', the rendezvous of Hindu merchants and bankers, the most profitable city of commerce in Gujerat. Every one of the traders there owned lakhs and lakhs. Its destructions was so complete and widespread as not to leave even a brick undisturbed and intact. The people of that place being ruined, migrated to Jaynagar, Allahabad and the city of Mathura, and the suburbs of Delhi. Some time after came the plundering of the innocent Hindu pilgrims of Kalika Bhawani. On Ram Navami Day, Sudi Chait 1794 Sambat or 8th Zihijja 1149(1737) large crowds had come out of the city for worship as well as for merry-making and sight-seeing. All of a sudden a great hue and cry arose in this part of the world; the vast multitude began to run helter-skelter, now falling, now rising, towards the city, and many of them, being confounded and stupefied sought shelter in the gardens; but a number of them fell into the hands of those accursed people. Does this incident, referred to by Baji Rao himself, fit in with the role attributed to him ?

Khushhalchand gives many interesting pieces of information, not noticed by others, about Baji Rao, Nizam and others. There are many new things about lightning dash of the second Peshwa on Delhi in April 1737, which, according to his own account, was but a token demonstration, but is

being magnified by some modern writers as a symbolization of the assertion of Marhatta sovereignty. Another thing generally left unnoticed by the Marhatta historians is the defeat of the best and the greatest of the Peshwa at the hands of the Nasir Jung whose aged father had been worsted twice by his younger rival. Khushhalchand, following the Persian writers, with some differences in details, writes about the trial of strength between Baji Rao and Nasir Jung just before the latter's rebellion against his father. We are told that Baji Rao, having become too proud and haughty, wanted to take advantage of the absence of the Nizam from the Deccan and undertook an expedition for plundering the Subah of Burhanpur where the Nizam's family members were living. He sent a message to Nasir Jung who having got some monetary help from his mother assembled 20,000 horse and foot to meet the Marhatta leader of 80,000 horses and foot. Having failed to maintain his stand Baji Rao sought an interview. Nasir Jung said, "My benevolent lord called you his son, and I regard you as my brother; in this battle fortune has not favoured you, and you have not taken sufficient pains; any way, tell me what you want, and I shall concede it, and compose our differences so that there may not remain any thorn in our hearts." In the meantime Nasir Jung's father, having returned from the north after the affair of Karnal and sack of Delhi (1739-40), had to postpone his march on Poona and Satara. Nasir Jung's encounter with Baji Rao mentioned by Malcolm, Grant Duff and others on the basis of Persian historians took place just a few months before the death of the Peshwa in April 1741.

Here, as elsewhere, our historian shows some tendency to exaggerate the figures of the contestants and of those killed (10,000). The initiative for accommodation may have come from Baji Rao though there appears to be some exaggeration regarding the defeatist attitude attributed to the proud Peshwa. Nasir Jung may have contemplated to march on Poona, but his alleged intended expedition to Satara lacks

confirmation, and cannot be accepted. The friendly feeling expressed, and the accommodating spirit shown by the words "say what you want" may refer to Nasir Jung's willingness to cede Handia and Kharkan which his father had agreed in the Treaty of Monge Sheogaon after Palkhed to part with.

Besides exaggerated accounts of facts and figures there are other limitations which the work of Khushhalchand suffers from. Some of his statements find no corroboration from other sources. No other contemporary authority says that Muhammad Amin Khan, the founder-viceroy of Oudh, was in a state of such utter penury, when he came from Persia, that he had to kill the owner of the cart he had hired, misappropriated its baggages with which he eked out his existence for a few days. None has said that Muhammad Ishaq Khan (Mu'tamad-ud-Daula) had begun his life as a custodian of Zinat-ul-Masjid mosque, and in course of time he secured service in the imperial department of artillery on the strength of the money that he spent for the purpose. The study of the career and achievements of Muhammad Bangash made by Mr. Irvine does not support something that our Hindu historian writes about the earlier career of the Bangash Chief, living in distant west. Khushhalchand failed to get full and correct information about the happenings in the East and, therefore there is a good deal of confusion and even factual and chronological inaccuracies in the account of Aliverdi and his struggles with the Bhonslas. For example, Aliverdi was not a Saiyid of Arab land, but a Turk of Afshar tribe. Whence did the historian get the information about his early associations with Zul Fiqar Jung Saadat Khan and his early service under Samsam-ud-daula on a monthly salary of 90 rupees ? There are many other things which are contrary to established facts. But all the new things given should not be summarily rejected. As for instance, no other authority except the author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, has referred to the forcible seizure of 15 lakhs which had been assigned to Balaji Baji Rao, the third Peshwa, by the men of Safdarjung led by

a Persian adventurer which finds mention in the work of Khushhalchand.

We may leave aside the minor mistakes such as the substitution of the names of the father of Dhir Ujjainia of Bihar and Gopal Singh Bhadauria of U.P. for their respective sons, Sudhist Narain and Anirudh Singh ; payment of 26 lakhs instead of 20 lakhs by Zakaria Khan to Nadir Shah ; conceding an annual assignment of seven instead of 13 lakhs to Baji Rao from the Mahals in the Deccan Subah ; Nadir issuing orders for general amnesty from the mosque of Qazi Nurullah instead of the mosque of Raushanuddaula ; the figures given of those who were killed and of goods in cash and kind plundered by the Persian invader. All these appear to be somewhat exaggerated.

Like the people of that age our historian also appears to have been addicted to astrological predictions, and he was also credulous and superstituous and believed in omens. His adulatory observations on the prowess of Durjon Sal, son of Chattrapati, and ascription of something incredible to Saadat Khan concerning the dead body of the rebel Bhagwant Udaru, the Khachchi Rajput rebel, reflects no credit on the historian. Though he has given the particulars of events and occurrences, sometime in great details, and carried on the narration from year to year of Muhammad Shah's reign, sometimes he takes together two years in disregard of the exact and preise chronological order, and in places there are some disjointed pieces of information about isolated events. His dignified style with a distinctive literary flavour, copious poetical quotations, offer a contrast to the plain-sailing political narrative of Sheodas' *Shahnama*.

This book of Sheodas is a smaller work which, according to Rieu, is not a connected history, but a compilation of court news and detached transactions and historical notices relating to the reign of Farrukhsiyar and the first four years of Muhammad Shah, every one of which is prefixed by the heading *Waqai* There are 124 *Waqai* and 42 official letters

of which as many as 22 are important *farmans* which have been brought together in this book, and form one of its special features. These documents are important from several points of view, and so are of special interest to students and scholars. They provide illuminating insight into the real character, views, and motives of the writers and the addressees. Those who can analyse and interpret the thoughts and acts of men from their own writings will realise the importance of this source-material of history. Though these official letters followed fairly uniform pattern in style and contents, and most of them are full of prevarications and equivocations, some yield specific information of historical interest. The correspondence between the younger of the Saiyid king-makers and Farrukhsiyar, and between the former and Nizam-ul-Mulk show the height of deceit and hypocrisy, ruse and deception, taken recourse to, and moves and counter-moves in the game of power politics which were freely indulged in by the grandees of the Empire.

To counteract the hostile moves of the Turani faction against his brother of the Hindustani party, Husain Ali Khan decided to march to Delhi, with a large party of the Marhattas headed by Balaji Vishvanath, the first Peshwa (1719). As an excuse for his unauthorized and repeatedly prohibited march he submitted that he was bringing with him an important prisoner, the supposed son of Prince Akbar (nicknamed by his father, Aurangzeb, as Abtar) who had been handed over to him by Raja Sahu on condition of his making a personal visit to Delhi to secure his long-detained relatives by using his good offices. Having been baulked from chastizing the refractory Deccanies, he had been forced to change his attitude and make friends with them so as to use of them to his own advantage. He sold the interests of the empire and country by first conceding in March, 1719 their rights to collect Chowth and Sardeshmukh in the Subah of Deccan to Raja Sahu, and then taking the Marhattas, led by the first Peshwa and also the future great son and successor to Delhi, and

providing these with first hand knowledge of the internal rivalry rending the Empire. He was anxious to get the release of the Marhatta captives before taking action against Farrukhsiyar, and the foolish imbecile and terrorized emperor conceded that. In his reply to the *farman* directing him to return to the Deccan he wrote that he would have done as directed, but the agents of Raja Sahu who had behaved very well and rendered a good service by delivering the person of the son of Prince Akbar insisted "on their devoted slave" to present himself at court, and "an agreement to this effect had been arrived at between us". "If I, your Majesty's devoted slave, break this point of compact and return according to your Majesty's order, all the people who have accompanied and who in this matter have exhibited a very respectable attitude would look upon it as a breach of contract and disperse." He had the impudence to enter the imperial metropolis beating his drum, a breach of royal prerogative, and during the interview he repeated that the agents of Sahu were insistent that the mother and brother of the Raja should first be set at liberty, and thereafter the Prince should be made over to the imperial officials.

Mention may be made here also of the lengthy letter of the Nizam, full of prevarications, sent in reply to the imperial *farman* and that which he had addressed in reply to Husain Ali Khan's equally hypocritical letter to him. Among other things the Nizam writes to Hussain Ali Khan. "Your precious and gracious letter has been perused by me, the suppliant one, and its contents have been very pleasing and gratifying. You had kindly penned down that Saiyid Dilawar Ali Khan who had been directed to go and bring out your Highness' family members had been guilty of mischiefs and disturbances of his own accord, and so I, your Highness' suppliant, should make every exertion and take all possible precautions for providing escort to your Highness' family", etc. etc. The adulatory strain of the address in the fairly long *farman*, sent by Muhammad Shah to Nizam-ul-Mulk is indicative of

the predicament in which the young and frivolous Emperor had found himself. He had to shake off his antipathy against the great Turani leader, and was forced to seek his help against the refractory Rathore Raja and the turbulent Jats. Some of the letters give new information not mentioned by others. The correspondence between Raja Girdhar Bahadur and Emperor Muhammad Shah and the Arzdasht of Abdus Samad Khan may be read in this connection. Thus many significant points of historical interest emerge and are deducible from these original documents, and the reproduction of the full text is a special feature and a novelty of this book.

Sheodas does not follow the usual pattern of rhetorical history, and much of the contents of his political narrative, written in plain and lucid style and simple language agrees substantially, except for a few variations in details, with those of other cotemporary works; but they are not derivative or borrowed. His narrative of events, political, social and cultural, should not be taken as a mere compilation or reduction of older information for many additions and changes are made and many new things are furnished.

It is true that *Shahnama* of Sheodas is not a fully integrated narrative. Much has been eschewed; there is no day to day, month by month, or yearwise flow of the events; and it is not chronologically and topically arranged into regular and proper divisions. But important topics and episodes have been dealt with on a selective basis in more or less their historical sequences, and there is some additional information which one does not get in other contemporary works. In this conneccton one may refer to the detailed account of the enormities and strange activities of Mir Jumla, Governor of Bihar, and the tyranny and oppression committed by His Mughalia troops on the people of the province. On trifling complaints many innocent men were unjustly put to death when he was on his way from Sasaram to Patna. His turbulent soldiery made their fortunes at the expense of the people; a dead-drunk Mughal entered the house of a married woman and was

about to molest her when fortunately she managed to kill him with his own dagger when he was in an inebriated state; another forcibly snatched a poor potter's daughter and made the semblance of a fake marriage; the children of a blind old man who used to give water to the thirsty wayfarers were taken away on the back of horses, and they all drowned themselves in the river when their captors were crossing it. Mir Jumla misappropriated the Bengal treasure when it was on the way to the west, and he enjoyed the sight of a well-arranged fight of a tiger with an elephant and two buffaloes which was a distinct encroachment on the royal prerogative.

As an imperialist Sheodas also calls the Saiyid Brothers as *Jafakeshan*, and he alone gives a vivid account of the indignities perpetrated by the vagabonds on the corpse of the murdered Amir-ul-Umara; but he would also say something about the good qualities of that high dignitary. Husain Ali Khan, on the bank of Jamuna, on the other side of Akberabad (Agra), celebrated with great enthusiasm the festival of the first decade of the blessed month of Rabi I which covered the dates of the birth and death of the Prophet of Islam, and he personally looked after the pious and learned people whom he invited and favoured.

The book of Sheodas, and also that of Khushhalchand, have both merits and demerits. There is indeed no book which can be found to be perfect in all respects. The colourful account of the festival of accession and those of the two Ids celebrated with gifts, grants and presents, regularly from the third year of Muhammad Shah's reign, review of animals, dance and music, and procedure and routine of life at the court on festive and special occasions may please some and appear to be trifles and boring to others; but the biographical touches and the insight they give into the manners and habits of the king and the grandees have got their value even from historical and cultural point of view. An important section of Khushhalchand's work is that devoted to the Dastur-ul-Amal (a body of instruction and regulation and tables for the

use of officials) of Bakshigiri (military rank) and Diwani (offices of public accounts and civil justice) and Ain-i-Amini (rules for the officers employed to examine and regulate the revenue of districts and Zabt-i-Bargah (royal usages and procedure of the court). The historian has much to say about the deterioration that had set in specially in connection with the indiscriminate grants of Mansabs, about Jama Dami (sum total of the assessed revenue), Sar-rishta-i-Kaghaz-i-Daftar (records of revenue administration and other matters drawn up and preserved in the office of the Registrar), Mustajiri (farming) in place of Amani (being in charge of the officers of the government).

In the work of Sheodas we get many particulars of military interests relating to artillery, strategy, stratagem, seiges and general conduct of war. The big guns made use of were Ghazi Khan, Sher Dahan, Qila Kusha, Zafar Paikar, Malik Maidan, Bijli, and the weapons and appurtenances of war used included Tufang, Gujnal, Shutrnal, Hathnal, Jazails, Rakhala, Araba, Pakhals, etc. We get also some instances of the dire sufferings of the people, due to the divinely-ordained and man-made famines and varying rates of prices. In the beginning of the rainy season till the end of the year (1716) there was dearth due to the failure of the rains. Not a drop of water fell from the sky and the price of grains which was at the rate of 20 seers per rupee rose to four seers and even beyond that. The people had to repair to jungles and they collected the leaves and blossoms of Karial plants, boiled them, and thus tried to keep up their strength. Hundred of people perished daily, in towns and villages; many people sold their wives and children for small amounts. The year of defeat at the hands of Nadir Shah witnessed extreme scarcity of articles of general use (*hububat*), grains and corns (*ghallat*) and a world of people were trampled down by hunger. Those who had some cash in their girdle paid 547 rupees or even more for a seer of grain. There was no question of oil and sugar for it was easier to get oil from sand and sugar from a mat of

reed. Wheat had disappeared; molasses were valued at a quarter less than two seers per rupee; fine rice was scarce; cogulated milk was not availble; gold and silver had lost their value; two *tolas* of silver and two *mashas* of gold could be had for one rupee, and two seers of copper were worth one rupee; brass and bell-metals were in a similar way; arms and implements were not worth as before. In 1739 the rate was two to five seers per rupee, and in Bengal grain had become unprocurable. Torrential rains and widespread epidemic of small-pox which caused the death of about two lakhs of children in Delhi alone in the year 27 have also been mentioned by Khushhalchand at length.

There are some interesting references to manners and customs of the time. Many including Muslims resorted to the Hindu practice of *Jauhar*. There were hermits who had withdrawn from worldly affairs. People of Multan led demonical lives, being mostly bare-footed, and having a piece of cloth on their shoulders, a scabbard in their girdle, and turban on their head, and they had always hunting dogs behind them. People used hair dyes to smear their beards and mustachios. Some people built their tombs before their death. Even clever and powerful people like Ali Muhammad Rohilla fell victim to credibility and superstition and were cheated by some Brahman of Benares. A prevailing practice was to measure the time in Gharis, Pass and Pahars.

Before we conclude it is worthwhile to say something about the two historians, and the copies of their work used by us.

Unfortunately very little information is available about Sheodas either in the usual works of reference, or in his own work. The only things about this man of Lucknow we know for a certain is that he had for long been a Munshi in the service of the Great ones and that he had accompanied the Saiyid Brothers from Fatahpur Sikri to Akberabad, a little after the departure of Ajit Singh, and that he had paid his respectful visit to the shrine of Hazrat Salim Chishti at Fatahpur Sikri.

His religious frame of mind becomes evident from his reference to Hemraj Jati, a Faqir belonging to Seora order of Hindu mendicants who was the spritual guide of Raja Ratanchand, and has been described by our author as a Faqir-i-Kamil (a perfect Dervesh). He had supersititious belief in Majzuban (those attracted by Divine grace and had renounced all worldly concerns), and he virtually ascribes the unexpectedly sudden death of Wazir Muhammad Amin Khan to the inhuman treatment he had meted out to a Faqir named Niranjan. One very important thing about the author and the date of the composition of his work comes out of the colophon of the photostat copy of a manuscript in Sir Salar Jung's Collection, the best of the four manuscripts used by us. There is no name of the scribe, but the date of the copy given is 22 Ziqad, year 4 (Md. Shah) that is 22 August 1722. The legible portion of the last line *Dārul Khilafat-i-Shāh Jahānābād Dar Kataghară or Kangură* (railing) *of Khalil Khan Hamrāhi-i-Ayālat Panāh Nawab Sanjar Khan* gives us the sure indication that this manuscript was transcribed or dictated at Delhi, perhaps at the instance of the author himself. Sanjar Khan, Shamshir Khan, Khalil Khan were all residents of Lucknow. The former has been very much and frequently eulogized by Sheodas. Khalil Khan, an Afghan of Bayazid Khalil of Malihabad, Lucknow, had been exalted with a rank of 2,000 by Farrukhsiyar, and was given a Jagir in Oudh.

As regards Khushhalchand, the photostat copies of the Berlin MS utilized so much by Mr. Irvine in his *Later Mughals*, and of a fragment of the voluminous work entitled *Zubdatul Akhbārāt*, forming a portion of Matla II of Maqala II, devoted entirely to the reign of Muhammad Shah which was named *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi* or *Nadir-uz-Zamani*, were procured for K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, and have been consulted. The fragment is named *Sahifa-i-Iqbal* or *Iqbalnama*. The author has said much about himself, his family members, and many other members of the civil service of the department of finance and correspondence belonging

to the Kayastha, Khatri and Brahmin communites. He had succeeded his brother, Khubchand, as Parwānanawis and Munshi of the Diwani of the Imperial metropolis (Delhi). On. f.1047 he writes that he had been also in the service of Sher Afgan of Panipat, the younger brother of Lutfullah Khan Sadiq. He says nothing about his caste and habitation, and we do not know the basis of Rieu's assertion that he was a Kayastha of Mathura and that he died at the age of 70 at Delhi, in 1155. The detached notes and notices in the aforesaid fragment contain dates much later than that. That part of the general history which deals with the Timuride, specially the name Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi, extends till the end of the Bangarh Compaign against Ali Muhammad Rohilla, and stops with the events of the 28th year. But the fragment contains references to the appointment of Ishaq Khan as Diwan-i-Khalisa on the death of Yahya Khan, on 17th Shaaban, 1160, a year yielded by the choronogram *Miftah-i-Kusha'ish*. It refers to the two years' fratricidal contest between Yahya Khan, the eldest, and Hayatullah Khan alias Mirza Phulauri, the younger son of Zakaria Khan for the government of the Panjab; and also to the uprising of Shamshir Khan Rohilla in Patna; to the victory of Baqaullah Khan, Naib Nazim of Allahabad, over Shamshir Khan, Chela of Qaem Khan Bangash, who had been joined by Ganga Singh, son of Hindu Singh Chandel. All these events were subsequent to 1155. At one place the historian writes: "The writer of these pages of *Iqbalnama* has recorded the occurrences of the exalted court and has given an account of the financial and political affairs (*Sawanihat-i-Mali Wa Mulki*) for a period of one Qaran and upto the 30th year of the reign. Nadir Shah's death (1160=1747) has also been referred to, and also the death of the Emperor and the Wazir at an interval of 40 days which happened in 1161=1748. Perhaps Khushhalchand died at a date not earlier than 1164.

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